THE POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN

by

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INTRODUCTION

The equality of men and women in the matter of political rights is established by a large number of constitutions, codes and laws. Few indeed are the modern countries that have not proclaimed it; curiously enough, one of the oldest democracies in the world—Switzerland—is an exception. Many nations which have adopted the system of representative government at a later juncture, and whose customs and traditions maintain women in a secondary and subordinate position, have not hesitated to adopt the principle of the equality of both sexes; in the Far East and in Islamic countries, this improvement in the legal status of women is proceeding, indeed, at a revolutionary pace.

How far do the facts square with the law? To what extent is the legal equality of the sexes accompanied by real equality? How far do women, in practice, exercise their recognized political prerogatives? It was in order to answer these questions that a survey was undertaken by Unesco's Department of Social Sciences, in 1952 and 1953, at the invitation of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. The present report describes the general results of that survey. It is based on the four national reports relating to each of the countries chosen by Unesco for detailed investigation —France, the German Federal Republic, Norway and Yugoslavia. No other documentation has been utilized, apart from that relating to a public opinion poll specially carried out by the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique in June 1953. It is not for the general reporter to make a critical study of the information assembled by the national reporters and by the IFOP. His personal responsibility is confined to the use of this information and to the conclusions which he has felt justified in drawing from it. He wishes to thank his collaborators —Professors Jean Stoetzel and Jacques Narbonne and Mr. Matteï Dogan (France), Miss Gabriele Bremme (German Federal Republic), Mrs. Lisbeth Broch and Dr. Eric Gronseth (Norway), Professor Max Snuderl and Mrs. Neda Bozinovic (Yugoslavia)—for collecting so considerable an amount of extremely valuable information in a very short time despite the difficulties encountered.

These difficulties are of two kinds. The material difficulties (lack of information and documentary sources, shortage of research-workers and funds, etc.), which are common to most political science research activities, need no emphasis. Stress must, on the other hand, be laid on what might be called the psycho-social difficulties, for they affect the very heart of the problem. Generally speaking, the survey seems to have encountered, to begin with, a certain degree of indifference. The political scientists and most of the organizations invited to supply information often tended to regard its purpose as a secondary one, of no intrinsic importance. This first reaction, which was anticipated by the organizers of the survey, was accompanied by another, more unexpected one—the reserve shown, at the outset, by certain women's associations of importance, concerned with defence and implementation of women's rights. Thus the survey was criticized on the ground that, by its very nature, it involved a discrimination between the sexes: did not the mere fact of studying, in isolation, the political attitude of women imply that this attitude was different from that of men, and presuppose the existence of a separate 'feminine nature'? This misunderstanding was fairly quickly dispelled, and the survey was subsequently aided by the comprehension and co-operation extended by all women's associations; but the fact that such a misunderstanding could occur is of itself significant.

The same may be said of the somewhat lively discussions provoked by the general reporter's suggestion that, at election-time, the votes of each sex should be counted separately in a certain type of constituency, by way of experiment—this being the only method by which any differences in political outlook between the sexes could be accurately ascertained. This suggestion encountered fairly strong opposition. The argument, formally put forward, that it would violate the secrecy of the ballot, is obviously unsound, for this principle of secrecy applies to the voting of each individual and not to the total amount of votes cast by such-and-such a social category. The principle would no more be violated by a separate count of the votes of each sex than it would be by a separate count of the votes of urban and rural areas, rich and poor districts, etc. The real fears of those opposing the idea were accurately expressed by the comparison drawn between the use of separate ballot-boxes for men and women and that of separate ballot-boxes for whites and blacks in countries with racial minorities—i.e., fears of some discrimination based on the idea of an oppressed minority (this idea being, in itself, a form of unconscious discrimination). It is also interesting to note that this opposition to a separate counting of votes seems to be just as strong among men as among women. It may be asked whether this does not reflect an attitude of domination

on the part of the men, which would be a counterpart of the women's 'minority' complex—the men endeavouring to maintain the fiction that women 'vote like men', that women's suffrage 'in no way alters the previous situation', and so obstructing any effective attempt clearly to ascertain the degree of originality and independence that might characterize the political views of women.

Here, too, it was possible partially to dispel this original mistrust; and the survey may well have been one factor in the measures adopted in Yugoslavia and the German Federal Republic with a view to a separate counting of the votes of each sex at the 1953 elections.

In any case, these facts show that the survey was not carried out in a 'neutral' and 'objective' field. On the contrary, the problem of the political role of women involves deep-rooted social beliefs (often unconscious or repressed, but always present) which invest it with a more or less impassioned nature. Women's participation in political life patently runs counter to an anti-feminist tradition which has certainly been on the wane since the beginning of the century and especially since World War I, but which is still fairly strong, while varying considerably from country to country. It represents an attempt to replace an ideo-social system, under which women's activities were of an essentially private and family type, by a new system providing for the complete equality of both sexes in all fields.

The conflict between modern ideas and anti-feminist traditions is strikingly illustrated by the discussions provoked by the problem of women's suffrage, and generally speaking their participation in political life, in Islamic countries. In Egypt, for instance, this matter is at present the subject of keen controversy. In the Far Eastern countries the political emancipation of women is also encountering very strong opposition in circles attached to traditions, whether religious or not. Although such conflicts are less marked in the West, and those concerned are sometimes unconscious or only partly conscious of them, they nevertheless exist. Man's primacy in the political field and the confining of women to private and family activities were usually less visible there before the birth of the feminist movement; but they were nevertheless of great importance, and the development of that movement has not completely done away with them, even in the countries where it has reached its culmination.

It is true that this anti-feminist attitude remains stronger in the Latin than in the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries. The financial emancipation of women also accelerates the change in habits and customs, but such change remains fairly circumscribed. It is rare for women who are financially independent not to be in a very

definite minority; moreover, financial independence itself has not succeeded, any more than the granting of political rights, in completely eradicating a general attitude which stems from a tradition several thousand years old.

Public opinion as a whole, therefore, seems rather unfavourable to political activity by women. Alain has excellently described the traces of that primitive mentality which regards war as a 'sport for men'; there is a similar tendency to regard politics as a man's affair. The club, the forum, debates, Parliament and political life in general are still considered to be typically masculine activities. Women's participation in them usually takes the form of an 'example' to be followed; it represents an effort to change the old conceptions, rather than a change already accomplished. It is symptomatic, for instance, that the granting to women of the right of vote has in many countries been the result of an executive decree, or a revolutionary measure imposed by the decree-law of a provisional government, subsequently ratified by an assembly elected in virtue of its provisions. We may mention in this connexion Soviet Russia, Germany (in 1918 and in 1945), Austria, Poland, Republican Spain, Cuba, France, Italy, Israel and Venezuela. (If Switzerland has not yet accorded women the right to vote, it is because its constitution necessitates a referendum on this question, and the opposition of the men voters has not yet been overcome.)

The existence of this more or less anti-feminist attitude, which despite an undeniable process of evolution, is still very strong, seems to be a directly observable fact so far as the recent survey is concerned. It was, nevertheless, treated simply as a working hypothesis, a factor that was capable of falsifying certain observations and had, therefore, to be taken into account.

Important though the research carried out in four countries for more than a year may be, its results cannot be more than fragmentary and hypothetical. Scientific integrity compels most of the matter in this general report to assume the form of questions. The report raises, in fact, more questions than it answers. The pioneer work done by the recent survey will, in the coming years, have to be continued by more extensive and more detailed research. One fact, at least, seems beyond doubt—the existence of great inequality between both sexes in the actual exercise of political rights. Legally, women are on an equal footing with men; they are not so in practice. It is for governments to draw the inferences from this fact; political scientists can do no more than record it and assess the extent of its influence.

NOTE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SURVEY

After deciding that the survey would cover four countries—France, the German Federal Republic, Norway and Yugoslavia—Unesco's Department of Social Sciences entrusted its operation to the International Political Science Association (IPSA). However, for the German Federal Republic, the research was carried out directly by, and under the responsibility of, the Unesco Institute for Social Sciences in Cologne; but the Institute co-ordinated its work in this respect with IPSA. The International Political Science Association, in agreement with Unesco, appointed Professor Maurice Duverger as general reporter and Professor Jacques Narbonne and Mr. Matteï Dogan (France), Mrs. Lisbeth Broch and Dr. Eric Gronseth (Norway), Professor Max Snuderl and Mrs. Neda Bozinovic (Yugoslavia) as national reporters. As to Germany, the task of drawing up the national report was entrusted by the Cologne Institute to Miss Gabriele Bremme.

The general reporter organized the research in two successive stages. In the first stage, a brief comparative study was made of the problem of the political role of women in the greatest possible number of countries, according to a uniform work plan (see Annex I); this document, of a very elementary nature, was simply intended to determine the framework within which the study should be effected, and lead to the collection of basic documentation on certain specific points.

In implementation of this plan, 17 reports were drawn up between January and August 1952 in 15 countries—7 in Europe (Belgium, the German Federal Republic, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia); 3 in America (Argentina, Mexico and the United States); 5 in the Middle and Far East (Egypt, India, Japan, Syria and Turkey). All these reports were discussed in detail at four working meetings during the International Congress of Political Science held at The Hague from 8 to 12 September 1952.[1] This preliminary study of all the reports made it possible to formulate a number of working hypotheses, set out in the general report presented to The Hague Congress (see Annex II).

The second stage of the survey consisted in assembling more detailed information on the points so defined, as a result of more extensive research carried out in the four countries chosen by Unesco: France, the German Federal Republic, Norway and Yugoslavia. A preliminary meeting, organized at Unesco House and adding to the general reporter and the national reporters various experts and representatives of the leading women's associations, made a critical study of the working hypotheses adopted at The Hague Congress, and of the field of research defined at that Congress; as a result, it modified the original work plan.[2] The national reporters then worked in their respective countries, co-ordination being ensured by the general reporter. After they had submitted their reports, a new meeting, held in Paris on 15 and 16 November 1953, enabled them to compare the results of their research and to provide supplementary details before the preparation of the final general report, constituted by the present publication.

1. See Mrs. Dorothy Pickles' report of this discussion in Unesco's *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. V, no. 1, 1953, p. 75 et seq.
2. An account of this meeting was published in Unesco's *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. V, no. 1, 1953, p. 160 et seq.

Unesco's administrative and budgetary rules unfortunately necessitated the submission of the present general report on 31 December 1953, although the national reports had only been completed, as a whole, at the beginning of November 1953. The present report has, therefore, had to be drafted with extreme speed which is hardly conducive to scientific method.

Chapter I

THE PART PLAYED BY WOMEN IN ELECTIONS

The election is the fundamental act of political life under a democratic system. Legally speaking, the whole theory of democracy is founded on the representation of the people by those elected; in practice, the appointment of the governors by those governed, through a genuine, free ballot, is the keystone of the democratic system. Admittedly, elections have not the same meaning in the four countries studied; in one of them, in fact, the one-party system detracts in some measure from their function as a means of choosing governors. In spite of this, election to office plays a very large part in the political life of the country, electoral propaganda is very lively and far-reaching and everything combines to make the elections the essential act of political life. It is therefore not surprising that the right to vote has always been the basic demand of feminist movements. All legal and doctrinaire considerations apart, the fact that they are voters gives women considerable power in practice. Once they have to reckon with them, and need their votes, the political parties will try to make their propaganda appeal to them and will take their problems into account, at any rate to some extent

In the four countries studied, women obtained the right to vote at widely different times. In Norway, women's suffrage was introduced in 1901 for municipal elections, and in 1907 for parliamentary elections. But it was a limited suffrage, while men had enjoyed universal suffrage from 1898. In 1910, universal suffrage for women over the age of 25 was introduced for municipal elections and in 1913, the same measure was extended to parliamentary elections. In 1920-22, the age limit was lowered to 23 and in 1945-46 to 21. In Germany, universal women's suffrage was introduced in 1919, while in France and Yugoslavia it dates from 1945. The great part played by the wars in this extension of political rights for women is worthy of note; this can be explained, firstly, by the fact that the general political upheavals they brought in their train facilitated the introduction of women's suffrage (as in the case of Germany in 1919 and

1945, and of France and Yugoslavia in 1945), and secondly, in all probability, by the fact that women had taken the places of men mobilized during the war, and were therefore more fully integrated into the general life of society, of which political life is merely one aspect.

How, in actual fact, have women exercised the suffrage granted to them in the circumstances mentioned above? That is the question we have to consider. In the first place, we have to determine to what extent women vote (the problem of women non-voters), and, in the second, how they vote (the problem of the trend of the woman's vote).

WOMEN NON-VOTERS

There are two possible methods of assessing the number of women who do not vote: public opinion polls and examination of electoral rolls. As regards the former, it is important to distinguish between polls taken before and after an election. The first ought to be used only with caution, as the percentage of 'no answer' responses or indefinite replies is generally higher for women than for men, and more women decide to vote only in the last week of the elections. (In the referendum held in France in October 1946, 30 per cent of the women made up their minds in the last week, as compared with 21 per cent of the men.)[1] The total differences however, are relatively small. At the French elections held on 10 November 1946, the overall percentage of abstentions (men and women) was, according to the official figures, 21 per cent. The figure published two days before by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research (Institut français d'opinion publique—IFOP) was 18 per cent. At the 1951 elections an experimental survey carried out by IFOP in the third division of Paris during the week of the election arrived at the *exact* percentage of abstentions (19 per cent). Nevertheless, opinion polls carried out after the election are clearly to be preferred, provided that they are conducted by specialists (which is not always the case with the surveys we shall have to use).

In any event, analysis of the election results themselves is infinitely better. It is, unfortunately, unusual for official statistics to show the numbers of men and women non-voters separately (although such separate records do not give rise to the psychological and political difficulties of separate ballots, which will be dealt with later). Norway

1. Survey by the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique, 16 Novembre 1946.

is the only country in which this has been done regularly in all ballots since 1901. In Germany, certain towns and districts followed this procedure under the Weimar Republic and still do so under the present régime; in Yugoslavia, separate records are available for one election only, while, in France, no such count has ever taken place (except in the two special cases of Vienne and Belfort, to which we shall refer later). It is therefore necessary to consult the electoral rolls themselves, which is not always easy, especially if it is desired to go far back into the past, and always takes a very long time. The only remaining course is to rest content with an analysis of a few samples. In practice, the French report is the only one including a fairly large number of results obtained by this method (covering about 130,000 electors of both sexes).

Generally speaking, therefore, the documentary material at our disposal is extremely scanty. It is not adequate to provide a basis for any definite conclusions. The variety of our sources makes the comparisons we have tried to draw between different countries still less reliable. But, when all these shortcomings have been taken into account, certain general trends seem to emerge, although, unfortunately, they become less clear-cut as we move on from an overall study of the phenomenon to an attempt at differential analysis of particular situations. Only by studying such situations, however, can we hope to advance from pure description to explanation of the facts.

THE OVERALL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

The preliminary surveys undertaken for The Hague congress made it possible to formulate three working hypotheses: (a) a higher proportion of women than men abstain from voting; (b) the difference between the two groups is slight; (c) there seems to be a tendency for the gap gradually to narrow, though this last hypothesis was formulated with explicit reservations. On the whole, the surveys carried out in the four countries seem to confirm this view. The first two hypotheses have been fairly definitely confirmed, but the third much less.

More Women than Men are Non-voters

In the four countries studied, this phenomenon seems clear either from the results of public opinion polls or from analysis of the actual votes. There is, however, quite a marked difference, in this respect, between Yugoslavia and the three other countries. In the Yugoslav elections of 1945 (the only ones for which the national reporter gave

exact figures) the difference between the percentages of women and men voting was only — 0.66 per cent[1] for the elections to the People's Federal Assembly[2] and — 1.56 per cent for the elections to the People's Assemblies of the Federated Republics.[3] In the other three countries, the difference is usually much greater. In Germany, out of a total of 148 elections in which separate counts of abstentions were made, between 1920 and 1930, only 25 showed a difference of less than 5 per cent, 66 a difference of 5 to 10 per cent and 49 a difference of 10 to 15 per cent. (Only in 10 cases was the difference less than 2 per cent.) From 1945 to 1953, out of 38 elections in which separate counts were made, half showed a difference of less than 5 per cent, and the other half a difference of 5 to 10 per cent; only in 7 elections was the difference less than 2 per cent. At the federal elections in 1953, the difference was 3.1 per cent. In Norway, since 1901, the difference has never been less than 6.38 per cent for general elections and 7.7 per cent for municipal elections. It has been as high as 19.39 per cent for the former and 24.1 per cent for the latter (total figures) for the whole country. In France the only overall figures which can be quoted are drawn from a public opinion survey specially carried out for this investigation by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research in June 1953: 85 per cent of the men questioned said that they had voted at the municipal elections in April as compared with 73 per cent of women making a difference of 12 per cent; 8 per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women stated that they had never voted at other elections; 5 per cent of the men and 7 per cent of the women said that they had voted only once, and 76 per cent of the men and 58 per cent of the women that they had voted several times.

The diversity of the sources of information used renders any international comparison almost impossible. Only in Norway can accurate percentage differences be given both for national and for municipal elections. Since 1945, these have varied from 10.12 to 6.38 per cent for the former and from 11.3 to 7.7 per cent for the latter. In the case of Germany, all that can be said is that the difference was always less than 10 per cent in the samples counted separately between 1945 and 1953. In Yugoslavia, we have the figures for 1945 alone: the national reporter merely mentions that the figures for the 1950 elections were more or less the same, but that, in 1952 a slightly smaller proportion of women voted, without giving any further particulars on the subject. In France, according to the polls

1. This and the following figures (each calculated as a percentage of the number of votes cast by the appropriate sex) themselves represent percentages of the total number of votes cast by the two sexes.
2. Men 88.66 per cent, women 88 per cent.
3. Men 93.56 per cent, women 92 per cent.

quoted, the difference seems to be greater than 10 per cent; the sample studies carried out (which will be analysed in greater detail below) confirm this result so far as rural districts are concerned but suggest that the figures would be lower in urban areas (8 to 9 per cent for 14 medium-sized towns). While Yugoslavia clearly stood apart from the rest of the group in 1945 and 1950, to what degree may the situation have changed since then? While the difference seems to be greater in France (a little over 10 per cent) than in Norway and Germany (a little under), to what extent may this be due to differences in the machinery used? It is impossible to give an answer to these questions. The only findings established relate to the fact that there are more women than men non-voters in the four countries, and that the difference between the two is scarcely more than 10 per cent in the country where it appears to be greatest (France) and seems to be much less in the other three. An attempt will later be made to formulate hypotheses regarding the factors which may explain this difference between the proportions of men and women non-voters. Observations made in France seem to indicate that about two-thirds of those abstaining out of political indifference are women, but, on the other hand, a German public opinion survey conducted in Mannheim in 1952 showed no great difference between the sexes in this respect; the greatest difference was in regard to health reasons, which were given twice as often by women as by men.

Exceptions to this general tendency seem rather unusual. In Yugoslavia, only the People's Republic of Macedonia has a lower percentage of women than men non-voters. It is an interesting point that this is the only Republic in which there are fewer women voters than men, and that everywhere else in Yugoslavia the reverse is the case. In Germany, women appear to have taken a greater part than men in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in 1919; in 37 constituencies throughout the Reich, the percentage difference was +1.9; in Bremen it was +7.9; in Saxony, +1.8; in Hamburg, +0.2; in Cologne, +5.8; and in Nuremberg, +2.7. The same thing occurred, the same year, in the local *Landtag* elections at Ausbach (+3.5 per cent) and Regensburg (+2.1 per cent). This phenomenon was not repeated in any other election for which a separate count of abstentions was made between 1920 and 1930. Was it attributable to the fact that many Germans were probably away from their electoral domicile in 1919, either because demobilization had not been completed or because various private armies had been organized? Or did the dejection of the defeated soldiers keep them away from the ballot boxes? Another reason may have been the eagerness of the women voters to use the weapon which had been put into their hands for the first time (a

phenomenon which seems to have been noted on occasion, as we shall see below). We can only ask these questions, but cannot furnish definite answers to them.

Between 1945 and 1953, out of the 38 elections in which separate counts were made, there are only five cases where the percentage of women non-voters is lower than that of men—two elections in West Berlin, two in Kiel and one in Brunswick. There is nothing in the national report to indicate the significance of these phenomena.

In Norway, on the other hand, some useful pointers are to be found in the survey made by Miss Raudi Kittelsen. In the 1947 local elections, the proportion of women voting was higher than that of men in 12 towns out of 64. The difference here seems rather to be due to an abnormal increase in men's abstentions than to any special decrease in women's abstentions. Miss Kittelsen notes that the towns concerned are all ports, where quite a large proportion of men of voting age are employed in fishing or shipping (roughly between 8 and 30 per cent). Their being away at the time of the ballot may explain the large number of men non-voters and the fact that it was greater than that for women. In the 1949 parliamentary elections, the percentage of women voting was higher than that of men in 17 towns, and practically equal in five others; in the 1951 local elections it was higher in 19 towns and practically equal in six others, including Bergen and Oslo. Again, the towns concerned are ports with a large population of sailors and fishermen. The smallest percentage of women non-voters is found in three inland towns, but it is still slightly higher than the percentage for men.

In France, the investigation into non-voting carried out by the prefects and municipalities in 1952-53 at the request of the Ministry of the Interior, brought to light only one instance where women took a greater part in the elections than men, namely the town of Privas (Ardèche). The difference is quite considerable, 11.3 per cent at the general elections in 1951. At Privas, about one man in four does not vote, as against one woman in eight. The national reporter mentions two facts which may provide some explanation. Firstly, Privas was chosen as the field for an experiment undertaken by a woman's association with a Catholic bias, the Union féminine civique et sociale, in order to encourage women to take part in the ballot. It is highly plausible that the small number of women non-voters may be due to that campaign, for the religious factor appears to have a considerable influence on women's voting (in Italy, for example, the number of women non-voters is very small in villages where the clergy has a strong influence; the same is true in France in some parts of the west and in Brittany). Further, the Union

féminine civique et sociale appears to be in a very strong position in Privas, where a woman municipal councillor has organized, at its instigation, a 'home help' service. It is regrettable, none the less, that the national report did not give any additional information, as monographs going more deeply into particular questions of this sort might shed much more light on them than purely statistical data. It is very interesting, for example, to find that the population structure of Privas is very unusual, the number of women voters being much larger than that of the men. In 1951, out of 3,613 voters on the electoral roll, 2,220 were women and 1,393 men. To what extent may this enormous numerical superiority give the women the impression that they have an important part to play in civic life, and that they are more closely associated with the social and collective life of the community? In the absence of detailed research in this field, it is difficult to answer such questions.

In West Berlin, where the 1948 and 1950 elections also showed a higher proportion of women than men voters, there is a similar preponderance of women, 983,339 women voters as against 603,122 men in 1948 and 1,001,420 women as against 662,801 men in 1950. In Norway, too, the difference in the numbers of the male and female population (the latter being in the majority) is more pronounced in the towns than in the country districts, and it is in the towns that the difference between the numbers of abstentions is smallest and the proportion of women voting is sometimes greater than that of the men. Nevertheless, we must guard against jumping to conclusions on this point. In the districts in Germany, other than West Berlin, where fewer women than men abstain from voting the relative numbers of the sexes do not differ significantly from the national average. And in Yugoslavia, the only region where women non-voters are fewer than men, Macedonia, is also the only one where the female population is slightly smaller than the male. Admittedly, we have only overall figures for the whole of Macedonia and have no means of examining individual districts, where considerable variations might be found; and, in any event, the gap between the numbers of men and women non-voters in the whole of Yugoslavia is so small that the difference between Macedonia and the rest of the country is practically negligible.

A marked numerical superiority of women over men may influence the ballot directly through the general atmosphere and social and psychological background to which it gives rise, and it may also act indirectly by causing women to take a greater part in economic life and the professions—a factor which, as will be seen below, seems to influence their political activity. At Privas, for example, the proportion of women working outside the home is much higher than the average for France as a whole (especially for workers, clerical

workers and civil servants). There are only 730 women not gainfully employed out of 2,220 (about 33 per cent), whereas the figure for the whole of France is about 73 per cent (excluding women agricultural workers, as in the case of Privas; if women agricultural workers are included, the percentage is 55 per cent). Privas may here be compared with Lille. In Lille, the percentage of women non-voters is higher than that of men, but the difference is extremely slight (0.8 per cent) and for all practical purposes negligible, especially as the counts for the two sexes were made on samples which may not have produced results corresponding exactly with those for the whole electorate. In Lille, also, the proportion of women working outside the home is much higher than the average (50 per cent, or nearly double the general urban average).

Variations in the Gap between the Percentages of Men and Women Non-voters

Does the gap between men and women non-voters tend to narrow, as the first investigations undertaken for The Hague congress seemed to suggest? It is extremely difficult to give a reliable answer to this question within the limits of this inquiry, because of the lack of proper evidence. For France, we have no suitable information on this point at our disposal. For Yugoslavia, we have to content ourselves with two statements—made, in passing, by the national reporter, without quoting detailed figures in support—that from 1945 to 1950, the difference between the proportion of men and women voting scarcely varied, remaining extremely small in all cases, but that, at the 1952 elections, the number of women voting tended to fall. The gap would, therefore, appear to have increased. These observations are too vague, and the period considered much too short, for any reliable conclusions to be drawn. In fact, only two real sources of information are available; the elections held in Cologne between 1919 and 1933, for which separate counts of abstentions were regularly kept, and all the Norwegian elections since 1901. In Norway, there seems to be a clear narrowing of the gap between men's and women's abstentions, in both municipal and general elections. This is more marked in the former case, however, as the original difference was greater. If the Norwegian municipal elections are considered from this point of view, four periods can be distinguished: (a) From 1901 to 1913, the difference was constantly higher than 20 per cent; although it decreased in 1907 as compared with 1901, it then remained almost unchanged in 1907, 1910 and 1913. (b) From 1916 to 1922, the difference varied between 20 and 15 per cent, falling from 18 per cent in 1916 and 1919 to 16.7 per cent in 1922. (c) From 1925 to 1945 the dif-

ference was between 15 and 10 per cent; in the first three elections during this period it varied between 12 and 13 per cent, in the last three, between 10 and 11 per cent; but within these two stages, the decrease was not regular, as the gap twice widened, once between 1928 and 1931, and again between 1937 and 1945. (d) Finally, from 1947 onwards, the gap has narrowed to less than 10 per cent (7.7 per cent in the 1947 elections). The Norwegian report does not give the overall abstention figures for the 1951 elections, but those quoted by Miss Kittelsen, for the towns indicate that the gap has narrowed still further. In the general elections, the trend is less regular and less well-defined: (a) in the first period, from 1909 to 1912, the difference was mall, 9.91 per cent and 8.18 per cent; (b) the second period (1915 to 1921) showed a much larger difference, varying between 16 and 19 per cent; (c) in the third period (1924 to 1927) the gap narrowed to between 12 and 13 per cent; (d) and in the fourth period (1930 to 1949), it varied between 10 and 6.4 per cent, following a sinusoidal curve (7.5 - 10.7 - 7.1 - 10.1 - 6.4) with a slight general downward trend. These different periods coincide with extensions of the suffrage, as the age for voting was lowered.

In general, there is a clear tendency for the gap to narrow, if we leave out of account the sudden rise in 1915, which is accounted for by a reform of the suffrage. Only then were women granted universal suffrage, a measure which increased the woman's voting strength from 308,600 to 564,800. It would therefore appear that large numbers of the new women electors abstained from voting. They did not do so (or, at any rate, not to the same extent) when universal woman's suffrage was introduced for municipal elections. Although the number of women voters increased from 268,750 in 1907 to 491,950 in 1910, the proportion of women voting did not fall (admittedly, it was then very small in municipal elections; only one woman in three voted).

The retrograde movements observed in the parliamentary elections between 1930 and 1933, and between 1936 and 1945 and the lesser retrogressions in the municipal elections between 1928 and 1931 and between 1937 and 1945 (the increase in the difference in this case being only in the neighbourhood of 1.5 per cent) are not easy to explain; nor is the sudden recovery between 1945 and 1949, which was clearly marked in both municipal and general elections. It is tempting to give the war as the reason for the fall in voting in the period 1937-45, but this really explains nothing. On the contrary, wars generally seem to cause a higher proportion of women to vote, as women in wartime play a more important part in economic and social life. From 1930 to 1933, when the four major parties were much closer to each other in numerical strength

than at any other time, the Socialists having 47 seats, the Conservatives 41, the 'Left' 33 and the Agrarians 25, did Norway's difficult parliamentary situation provide an explanation? Did the women voters tend to withdraw from public affairs, seeing no way out of this confused situation? The hypothesis is not absurd but, with the information now at our disposal, there is little real foundation for it. We can only say that the proportion of women voting in general elections is less stable than that of men, varying almost always in the same direction, but to a greater degree. On the other hand, in municipal elections, the proportion of voters for both sexes is equally stable. The woman's vote for local government representatives therefore seems to be more stable and more firmly established than for members of Parliament. For the time being, however, this statement can be applied only to Norway, where the phenomenon has been noted.

An analysis of the elections in Cologne between 1919 and 1933 gives much less definite results. Under the Weimar Republic, women at first voted more than men; at the two elections in 1919 the differences were 5.8 per cent and 3.4 per cent in favour of women. But after this they appeared to take less interest in public affairs and up to 1930 the percentage of women's abstentions in the Reichstag elections varied between 49 and 47 per cent and was still higher in local elections (it was over 77 per cent in the elections for the provincial Landtag in 1925, when the corresponding figure for men was as high as 66 per cent). The proportion of men voting was greater (being between 63 and 68.5 per cent for the Reichstag and over 60 per cent for local elections except in the special case of the 1925 Landtag election) and increased more noticeably than that of women, with the result that the gap between the proportions of men and women non-voters widened. The figures for the elections of 1930, July 1932, and 1933, on the other hand, show a very different tendency. The number of abstentions for both sexes fell considerably but the drop was much greater for women, with the result that the gap narrowed to between 9 and 11 per cent as against 14 to 15 per cent for the preceding period. The proportion of men voting was about 80 to 85 per cent and of women between 70 and 75 per cent. The election held in November 1932 was an exception, and brings the previous period to mind. The man's vote dropped to 76 per cent and the woman's to 62 per cent, the difference increasing to 14 per cent. These variations seem to be attributable to the political situation, and in fact coincide with variations in the fortunes of the National Socialist party which was dominant in this period.

Turning now to the period from 1946 to 1953, and the Bonn Republic, we are immediately struck by the very considerable nar-

rowing of the gap between men's and women's abstentions. The difference has never been as high as 10 per cent; nor has it approached this figure except in the local elections of 1947-48. Apart from these, the difference is never more than 5 per cent. A steady trend towards the narrowing of the gap is, moreover, clearly perceptible if the results of the first municipal election (1946), where the difference was only 2.2 per cent, are ignored. This is an exceptional case which may be compared with the 1919 elections in which the proportion of women voters was higher than that of the men. The circumstances of the period immediately following the war, which kept many men far from their homes, the influence of the war years during which women had assumed important functions in social and community life, may be advanced as explanations of the phenomenon. Owing to the absence of adequate documentary material, however, there is no possibility of verifying these hypotheses. With the exception of this special case, the difference between men's and women's abstentions dropped from 4.8 per cent to 4.6 per cent for the Bundestag elections between 1949 and 1953; from 9.7 per cent to 4.5 per cent for the Landtag elections between 1947 and 1950; and from 8.9 per cent to 3.4 per cent for the municipal elections between 1948 and 1952. Here again we find the first signs of the trend already observed in Norway.

In short, the theory that there is a steadily narrowing of the gap between the proportions of men and women non-voters may be supported by three sets of facts: (a) the Norwegian elections from 1901 to 1951, which furnish the strongest argument in its favour; (b) the tendency apparent in Germany since 1947; and (c) the comparison between the Weimar and Bonn Republics. The validity of the last two, however, is open to argument. The period from 1947 to 1953 is far too short for it to be taken as real proof, and the political, social and psychological backgrounds of the Weimar and Bonn Governments differ too radically, while the interval between them is too long, for them to be properly considered as a single entity. It follows that only the case of Norway confirms the above hypothesis. It is therefore difficult to maintain, as was very tentatively suggested in the report submitted at The Hague, that the difference between the proportions of men and women voting in elections is due to the fact that women have had the vote for a shorter period of time and that, as a result, they are less conditioned to political life, and their political reflexes less highly developed by habit. So far as the gap between the numbers of abstentions tends to narrow, this hypothesis might be borne in mind, but there are many other factors to be taken into account.

For example, abstention by women from one ballot to another usually varies in the same direction as abstention by men. In other

words, the vote increases or decreases as a whole, men's and women's following the same general trend. The extent of the variation may differ for the two sexes, but its direction, in most cases, is the same. When this phenomenon is considered in conjunction with the small differences usually observed between the proportions of men and women non-voters, we are led to the view that the political behaviour of the two sexes does not differ in essentials, and that the reactions of both are similar under pressure from the same factors. This observation is of fundamental importance in any attempt to explain the political attitudes of women. It might be qualified by the fact that the extent of variation in the proportion of non-voters sometimes appears to be greater for women than for men, which would suggest that the woman's vote is more unstable than the man's. A comparison of the abstention curves for both sexes, based on the Norwegian general elections, provides some indications on this point, which are corroborated by some of the variations noted in the proportion of women voting under the Weimar Republic. But the number of observations which can be made on this question is very small and many of them suggest conflicting conclusions (for example, a comparison of the abstention curves for the Norwegian municipal elections).

From another point of view, we find that the difference between men and women non-voters seems to be smaller when the total vote is higher. In other words, the fewer men abstain from voting, the lower the proportion of women non-voters and the smaller the difference between the two groups. A comparative analysis of Norwegian general and municipal elections throws considerable light on this point. The general level of voting is lower in the latter than in the former, over the period as a whole, but, with very few exceptions, the difference between the proportion of men and women voting is greater. A comparison of town and country elections gives the same result: the total vote is much larger in the former, and the difference between men's and women's abstentions much smaller. Similar conclusions generally emerge from an examination of German voting returns under the Weimar and Bonn Republics. The very large difference usually noted under the former goes with a very small total vote, and the small difference noted under the latter, with a large total vote. In a closely knit political society where the body of citizens feel that they have a part in their institutions and play an active role in appointing their governments, women fully follow the general trend. In a more loosely knit political society, where a large part of the citizens take no interest in the public authority and its institutions, women also show little interest in public affairs. But, whereas, in the first case, they tend to take as great a part as men in political events and any differences be-

tween the sexes as regards voting in elections disappear, in the second case, their loss of interest is definitely more marked and their refusal to participate more emphatic. We shall try later to elucidate this fact, which can be clarified only by a closer analysis of non-voting on the part of women.

DIFFERENTIAL ANALYSIS OF THE PHENOMENON

Owing to the lack of general data, it has often been necessary to study particular cases of non-voting on the part of women. To generalize from these is always dangerous, as differential analysis may show up considerable variations. The extent to which women abstain from voting varies greatly as between town or country districts, local or general elections, and according to occupational category, standard of living, standard of education, age group, etc. A study of these variations is obviously essential, but unfortunately any conclusions drawn are still less reliable than those already advanced, for there is even less documentary material on which to work. Usually only a few samples are available, and these are not necessarily representative of the group whose attitudes they are supposed to reveal. These samples are often rather small, so that analysis of sub-divisions must be based on very small groups, and the margin of error is considerable. This general reservation should always be kept in mind as limiting the applicability of any conclusions we may be led to formulate.

The Size of the Vote According to the Type of Election

A study of the size of the woman's vote according to the type of election (general, municipal or local) is possible only for Norway, for which we have complete records, and for Germany, where some partial data are available. We have no information for France or Yugoslavia.

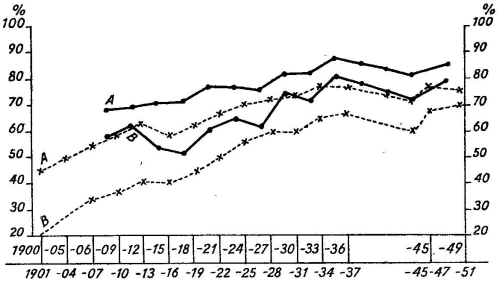
It is known that, as a general rule, the overall abstention figures, for both men and women, are higher for local than for nation-wide elections. Among the former, moreover, it appears that abstentions in intermediary elections (county and district councils, provincial assemblies, etc.) are more numerous than in municipal elections. This second phenomenon, however, is less clear-cut than the first. The study of these variations has an essential bearing on our subject, but, unfortunately, has scarcely been begun as yet. It seems that the degree of interest shown by the voter in the different elections depends on the degree of importance which he attributes to them. The influence of parliament seems to him greater than that

of the municipal council, and the latter, in its turn, greater than that of the intermediate authorities. A bigger vote in local elections in federal countries, or those where government is greatly decentralized, would help to confirm this view. But, in any event, a great number of factors are involved. The fact that the electoral machinery is often different for the different kinds of elections is also very important. In countries where a simple majority is required for election, the number of abstentions is generally higher than in countries where proportional representation is the rule, except in cases where the difference in strength between the majority and the minority is small and each individual vote is therefore valuable. Women's abstentions cannot be considered apart from abstentions in general.

In Norway, the overall vote in municipal elections has constantly been lower than that in parliamentary elections. The difference has usually been quite large: until 1920, approximately one voter in two abstained in the former case, and one in three in the latter. If we consider the proportions of men and women non-voters separately, we find that the difference between general and municipal elections is much greater for the latter than for the former over the whole period, although there are some isolated exceptions. When we measure the gap between the proportions of men and women non-voters for the different kinds of elections we find that it is larger for municipal than for parliamentary elections, but that there is a tendency for it to narrow. This seems to confirm the trend to which attention has already been drawn—the smaller the total vote, the greater the difference between men's and women's abstentions. But the idea of the degree of integration in the community, which was suggested as having a bearing on this phenomenon, cannot be brought up here. It is a difference in interest in the results of the election and not in the part taken by the voter in the life of the community which probably accounts for the difference in the number of voters.

The few comparisons between different types of elections which can be made from the evidence supplied by the German reporter seem, on the whole, to confirm these trends. They reveal a very considerable total of abstentions by both men and women in certain exceptional cases. For example, in the provincial Landtag elections at Cologne in 1925, 66.7 per cent of the men and 87.1 per cent of the women abstained, and in 1929, 41.7 per cent of the men and 53.5 per cent of the women. In other ballots, there was much less difference between provincial and municipal or general elections. In the 1925 Stuttgart municipal elections, nearly 51 per cent of the men and 61 per cent of the women abstained. Without further information it is impossible to draw any conclusions from these

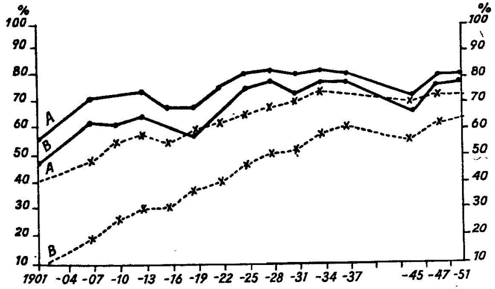
Norway: Percentage of voters



General and municipal elections

A = men
B = women

——— General elections
------ Municipal elections



Municipal elections

A = men
B = women

——— Towns
------ Country

facts. However, equally large deviations from the average proportion of abstentions are to be found in local, but hardly ever in general elections. Further, no difference in the behaviour of men and women voters in such exceptional circumstances can be observed; men's and women's abstentions increase in similar ratio and the difference between them remains roughly the same as usual, contrary to the general tendency for the gap to increase when voting as a whole falls off. Would a comparison of the proportions of men and women non-voters give different results according to whether we consider 'structural abstention' (*l'abstention de structure*) or 'occasional abstention' (*l'abstention de conjoncture*), to adopt the distinction suggested by François Goguel? The differences in the size of the vote between general and local elections; between Norway, France, Germany and Yugoslavia; between different ballots taking place in the same country at several successive times, all these relate to 'structural abstention'. It is in this type of abstention that we discern a fairly general tendency for the gap between the proportions of men and women non-voters to grow as the size of the total vote shrinks. On the other hand, this trend does not appear in the special cases of exceptionally high abstention quoted above, which would come under the heading of 'occasional abstention'. Such cases are too rare for any general conclusions to be formulated about them, but it is extremely important that detailed research should be continued in this field. If it could be established that the difference between men and women voters is greater as regards 'structural' than as regards 'occasional abstention', it would help to confirm that there is no fundamental difference in the political behaviour of men and women, since both react in the same way to the same set of exceptional circumstances.

The Size of the Vote According to the Type of Community (Urban-Rural)

The only general statistics which distinguish between abstentions in urban and rural communities are given in the Norwegian report, and they relate to municipal elections since 1901. From this preliminary survey of the problem, three observations can be made: (a) The total vote (men and women together) is greater in the towns than in the country districts. (b) The difference between the proportions of men and women not voting is greater in the country than in the towns. (c) Both these differences tend gradually to diminish. The fragmentary data supplied in the French and German reports appear to confirm the first two observations, but, as no comparisons have been made through time in those countries, nothing can be deduced about the third.

Can the very rough distinction between 'town' and 'country', between 'urban communities' and 'rural communities', be more exactly defined, and a correlation established between the size of the community, the total vote, and the difference in the proportions of men and women non-voters? Statistics contained in the German report, relating to the Reichstag elections in Hesse in 1928, incline us to believe that they can. The size of the vote steadily increases and the difference between the sexes diminishes as the population of the community grows larger (Table 1).

TABLE 1

No. of inhabitants	Size of vote		Difference
	Men	Women	
	%	%	%
Less than 2,000	72.8	51.1	—21.7
2,000 to 50,000	74.0	59.2	—14.8
More than 50,000	75.5	64.7	—10.8

But rather different results were recorded at the federal elections in September 1953, where a separate count of votes was made in certain sample constituencies. Although the difference between the sexes is smaller where the population is large, the proportion of abstentions is higher in large towns than in small ones, and as its minimum in medium-sized towns (Table 2).

TABLE 2

No. of inhabitants	Size of vote		Difference
	Men	Women	
	%	%	%
Less than 3,000	89.9	85.5	—4.4
3,000 to 50,000	89.2	86.3	—2.9
More than 50,000	85.9	83.4	—2.5

It would be premature to draw any general conclusions on the point at this stage, since the statistics for 1949 and 1950[1] give rather different results (Table 3).

In this case, the proportion of women voting is highest in the small towns (2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants), lower in medium-sized towns (5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants) and especially in small villages (less

1. *Beiträge zur Statistik Hessens*, no. 39, March 1951.

than 2,000 inhabitants), and lowest in large and very large towns. It is a pity that a detailed analysis of these results could not be made, showing their particular, local background, as they are extremely interesting. They seem, in fact, to be in sharp contradiction with the other evidence at our disposal.

TABLE 3

No. of inhabitants	Women not voting	
	1949	1950
	%	%
Less than 2,000	21.0	35.4
2,000 to 5,000	13.0	20.1
5,000 to 20,000	23.8	28.8
20,000 to 50,000	27.6	40.8
50,000 to 100,000	24.2	40.2
Over 100,000	26.4	43.6

Using the survey carried out by the Ministry of the Interior in 1952-53, the French report notes a quite definite difference between the town and country districts, the total vote being higher in the former, and the difference between men's and women's abstentions smaller. This confirms the results obtained in Norway and in the German elections in Hesse in 1924. Nevertheless, no clear gradation is to be seen within the first group. Though the percentage of abstentions and the difference between the sexes is smallest in a very large, highly industrialized city, in the heart of a huge urban area (Lille), there are no very clear overall differences between the other towns studied, whether they come under the heading of 'large towns' (over 50,000 inhabitants) or medium-sized ones (less than 50,000). The differences here are due to factors other than size and it would seem useless to attempt to establish too close a connexion between it and the size of the vote. Miss Kittelsen's study on Norwegian towns confirms these observations. Size appears less important than situation, inland towns having a larger and more stable total vote than coastal towns. The difference here seems to be mainly due to the men voters, whose numbers are smaller and more variable in the ports, because of the large percentage of fishermen and sailors. The result is that the difference between men's and women's abstentions is greater in coastal than in inland towns, although the total vote is higher, even the women's vote, in the latter.

The study of abstention in rural areas, carried out by the French reporter, gives similar results. In the small communes in the Department of the Oise, where agricultural workers are in a minority and where a quarter of the inhabitants are workers, many of whom are

employed in Paris and return to their homes only to sleep (dormitory towns), the levels of abstention among men and women are very close to those found in the towns. This particular case apart, the essential difference seems to lie in the layout of the commune, i.e. it depends on whether the houses are grouped together or scattered. The total vote is higher in the former case, and the difference between men's and women's abstentions smaller, while, in the latter, the reverse tends to be true. In the case of agricultural communes where the houses are grouped together, the French reporter sums up his observations as follows: (a) The men vote in almost the same proportion as townsmen. (b) There are more non-voters among the women than among townswomen. (c) Men living in the country vote at elections in a higher proportion than women living in towns. Too few cases have been investigated, however, for these findings to be considered thoroughly reliable.

In communes where the population is scattered, the conclusions are less clear. While there is probably a tendency towards a higher proportion of abstentions (as Mr. André Siegfried pointed out in his *Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République*), and while this tendency appears to be more marked in the case of women, so that the gap between the votes of the two sexes is larger, there may be many other factors working in the opposite direction, e.g. total area, degree of dispersion, contacts between the hamlets and the centre of the commune, extent to which the community is agricultural. The religious factor seems particularly important. In certain small, scattered communes in the West of France and Brittany, where the clergy have a very far-reaching influence on the population, the total abstention figures are lower, and those for women's abstention particularly low, so that the proportion of women voting is sometimes higher than that of the men. The validity of these findings, however, is limited by the fact that they relate only to one election, that for the National Assembly in June 1951. To what extent may 'occasional abstention' have cut across 'structural abstention'? This is all the more difficult to determine as the national reporter does not give the election results for the communes considered. The political distribution of the votes cast, the width of the gap between the parties, and the general atmosphere of the poll, may change much as regards the numbers of men or women non-voters.

Nevertheless, the body of evidence cited for France as well as for Norway and Germany, shows fairly clearly that there are more similarities than differences between the behaviour of men and women with regard to abstention at elections. Whether the community is urban or rural, whether the houses are grouped together or scattered, and whatever the local differences, men's and women's

abstentions show the same general variations. There is always a certain gap between the two, but it is not constant. The existence of this gap and the variations found in it alone reflect a difference in behaviour between the two sexes, but these are much smaller than the overall variations in the general electoral behaviour of the two sexes.

The Size of the Vote According to Age Group

The only information available on this subject relates to Germany and France, and little of it is general, covering all the elections for the whole country, with the exception of the report of the Cologne Institute concerning the German federal elections of 1953, but which gave only a few overall results. None of the material covers a long enough period of time. In France, only the June 1951 election has been considered; in Germany, comparisons have been made only for two or three successive ballots. As a result, the influence of local and incidental factors cannot be excluded. Though it would be rash to formulate general conclusions from observations made on such a limited and imperfectly representative sample, nevertheless, to the extent that fairly definite constants can be observed, they should be borne in mind as first approximations.

In general, we know that the total number of abstentions (for men and women combined) is usually higher for the younger age groups and for the old, and smaller for the intermediate ages. This seems very natural, reflecting the fact that the young are still insufficiently integrated into the community and that the old feel themselves to be out of touch and tend to withdraw more and more into their own world. Material factors probably also enter into the picture —illness and fatigue for the old, and the problems of making a start in life for the young—diverting their interest from politics. All these explanations need, incidentally, to be verified extremely carefully, and here we can merely note that variations in the proportion of electors voting, according to age, seem to have been established. The proportion of women non-voters follows the same general trend. Like young men, young women tend to abstain to a higher than average degree and the same is true for old women and old men. This basic similarity of behaviour is constantly to be noted. In exceptional cases where the general trend is not followed, the exception usually applies to both men and women non-voters. However, special differences between the sexes are to be found. In Lille, for example, the largest vote was that of the youngest age group (21 to 25) for women, while the same age group for men had the smallest proportion of voters. There were far fewer women than men non-voters, the difference being considerable (25.9 per cent

of the men failed to vote as against 6.8 per cent of the women). The French reporter explains this unusual situation by the fact that Lille is a highly industrialized city where the proportion of working women is very high (textiles), suggesting that since they take a fuller part in social and political life, a higher proportion of young women vote. But the proportion of working men is also high in the younger age groups and the difference in the numbers of men and women non-voters belonging to the working class at Lille is not large enough (15.6 per cent for men and 11.1 per cent for women) to account for such a big difference in the youngest age group. Other factors must also be at work and it would be interesting to find out what they are. In the survey carried out by the French Ministry of the Interior, the methods used at Lille were not, of course, the same as in other towns, and the inquiry there covered only a sample of 8,000 voters, the representative character of which is open to question. To what extent may the difference in the results obtained be due to a difference in the means of observation employed?

Once this basic resemblance between women and men from the point of view of variations in the abstention figures according to age has been established, certain general differences appear. Firstly, there is a quite clearly marked difference between the ages at which the lowest proportion of non-voters is found among men and among women. For women, the largest vote generally comes earlier than for men. In France the difference is about ten years, the percentage of women non-voters being lowest between the ages of 45 and 60, while that of men non-voters reaches its minimum between 60 and 70. This observation applies equally to Lille, to a group of 14 large and medium-sized towns (Lille excepted), and to rural communes where the people live close together and where they are widely scattered.

There are, however, some perceptible differences between town and country. The largest woman's vote seems to come at a later age in the former and an earlier age in the latter. In the towns, it fluctuates around the ages of 50 to 55, in the country from 40 to 45. The same difference is to be noted for men. In the towns the maximum vote comes about 65, in the country, between 45 and 60. Women living in scattered communes also appear to vote in the highest proportion at an earlier age (about 40) than they do in communes where the population is grouped together (about 45). A similar trend can be observed among men. Of course, these are only very rough approximations.

The difference in the ages at which the maximum vote is noted, as between men and women, seems, incidentally, to be larger in the country than in the towns, but this is less clearly established than

the foregoing observations. Material factors such as distance, fatigue and illness, probably play a large part in all cases (it is more difficult to vote in a widely scattered commune than in one where the houses are grouped together or in a town). Still more, no doubt, do differences in mentality and way of life. But such local differences seem less clearly marked than national ones and those connected with the political system. It is really regrettable that the only comparisons which can be made here relate to France and Germany. At least, the fact that the latter has had two very different systems of government, separated by a long interval, makes it possible to find some interesting pointers, though unfortunately they cannot be relied on too much. Under the Weimar Republic, observations carried out in four selected districts during the 1924 parliamentary elections, showed that the age at which the highest proportion of women voted was 40 to 45, and of men, 50 to 55. In both cases the ages were lower than the French averages at the 1951 elections. Was this a result of the novelty of the German parliamentary system at the time, which disinclined the rather older generation to take part in it? We cannot draw any conclusion on this point, for we have the results of only one investigation to work on and these do not even distinguish between urban and rural communities. Under the Bonn Republic, on the other hand, the largest woman's vote appears to come at a slightly higher age than in present-day France, although the largest man's vote comes at the same age (between 60 and 70). Out of three elections held at Cologne in 1946, 1948, and 1952, the proportion of women non-voters was lowest between the ages of 61 and 70 in the last two (although the difference between this and the preceding age group was admittedly very small in the 1948 election). Only in 1946 did the minimum come between 51 and 60. In various communities in Hesse at the 1949 and 1950 elections, the results were identical

TABLE 4. Percentage of women voting in elections

Age	Cologne			Germany[1]
	1946	1948	1952	1953
	%	%	%	%
21-25	61.9	39.3	48.2	77.2
26-30	65.0	39.0	50.8	81.6
31-40	71.1	47.7	56.0	86.0
41-50	75.4	54.5	62.6	88.4
51-60	*76.8*	59.0	66.9	*89.0*
61-70	74.0	*59.4*	*67.6*	*86.1*
Over 71	61.4	50.8	56.9	72.6

1. Federal elections.

with those of Cologne in 1948 and 1950. But the separate counts made in certain representative constituencies at the federal elections in September 1953 do not corroborate these results. The largest woman's vote was recorded between 51 and 60 years of age, differing very little from the position in France (Table 4).

Certain results would seem to indicate that there is a fairly large difference between town and country in Germany today. The information on this point collected in various constituencies in Hesse makes it possible to distinguish three groups: (a) towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, where the largest woman's vote comes between the ages of 61 and 70; (b) medium-sized towns (from 5,000 to 100,000 inhabitants) where it comes between 51 and 60; (c) towns and villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants where it came between 41 and 50 at the 1949 elections and between 31 and 40 at those of 1950. This drop in the age at which the largest proportion of women vote in rural districts is exactly the reverse of the rise noted in the urban district of Cologne, but the material for comparison is too limited for any conclusion to be drawn.

The 1953 federal elections to some extent confirm the trends noted above for Germany as a whole. The age at which the highest proportion of women vote is the same in all communities of more than 3,000 inhabitants, i.e. between 50 and 60; it is lower in communities of less than 3,000 inhabitants; i.e. between 40 and 50. The drop in the age at which the vote is largest in rural communities confirms the similar trend observed in France, but it is definitely more marked in Germany.

Not only do we find the highest proportion of women voting at an earlier age than men, and women withdrawing from political life earlier, but their withdrawal is generally on a much larger scale. In the case of men, we saw that the proportion of abstentions scarcely rises before the age of 70 except in certain scattered communities, where the tendency to abstain from voting begins earlier. Quite often, incidentally, the difference is relatively small and no sudden variation in the general trend is to be observed, especially in the large towns. For women, on the other hand, the proportion voting declines very sharply from the age of 70 (although the curve begins to slope down earlier, the decline is usually less marked for the sixties).

In France, the average proportion of abstentions for women in the seventies in the 14 towns investigated (with the exception of Lille) is about 35 per cent, in closely populated rural communities 45 per cent, and in scattered rural communities from 60 to 70 per cent. The corresponding percentages for men are 20 per cent, 24 per cent, 25 per cent and 33 per cent. In Cologne, the proportion of abstentions for women in the seventies was 38.6 per

cent in 1946, 49.2 per cent in 1948 and 33.1 per cent in 1952, the corresponding figures for men being 27 per cent, 32.7 per cent and 26.2 per cent. In the German districts studied in 1924, 21 per cent of the women in the same age group abstained. The investigation carried out in 1949 in connexion with the Hesse elections showed percentages of abstentions for women in the seventies varying between 30 and 33 per cent, except in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, where the figure was only 26 per cent, and in villages with less than 2,000 inhabitants, where it rose to 45 per cent. At the 1950 elections, the average was between 45 and 48 per cent, except in towns of from 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, where it fell to 37 per cent, and in villages of less than 2,000, where it was as high as 72 per cent.

There are a few exceptional cases. In Privas (Ardèche) for example, the highest proportion of voters was recorded among women in the oldest age group. In the opinion of the national reporter, this anomaly may be due to the religious factor, as the town of Privas has been subjected to particularly concentrated propaganda by a Catholic association, the Union féminine civique et sociale. The fact that the number of abstentions among septuagenarian women is lower in certain small communities in the west of the country, where the influence of the clergy is very strong, in spite of the fact that the population is scattered, tends to corroborate this explanation, which seems very plausible.

Turning from the question of the lack of correspondence in age variations in men's and women's voting, let us now examine the differences between the two categories within each age group, the number of women's abstentions being generally higher than that of the men. On the whole, the gap between them tends to increase more or less regularly in the older age groups. This phenomenon was confirmed by the German investigation in connexion with the 1924 elections. An analysis of the different age groups (taking five years together) shows a regular increase in the gap between men's and women's abstentions. The Cologne election statistics for 1946, 1948 and 1952 give, with one or two exceptions, almost identical results. The separate counts made throughout Germany for the federal elections of 1953 confirm this trend, the difference increasing regularly, from 0.40 per cent for the under 25's to 14.6 per cent for the over 70's. In France, too, this fact was noted in the investigations carried out in 14 towns and a number of rural communes. In nearly all cases, the gap widens suddenly from the age of 60 onwards, owing to the fact that, whereas men's abstentions generally continue declining between the ages of 60 and 70, women's abstentions begin to increase from the age of 60. While the political semi-retirement of women does not become marked until after the

age of 70, there is a fairly distinct difference in their behaviour as compared with that of men from the age of 60 onwards.

On the other hand, the difference in the proportion of men and women voting in the youngest age groups is usually very small, and it sometimes happens, contrary to the general tendency, that more women than men vote. This was the case in Lille, at the 1951 elections, for the age groups 21-25 and 26-35; in all the 14 French towns investigated at the same elections, for the 21-25 age group alone; and in Cologne, in 1946, for the two groups, 26-30 and 31-40 (but in this case, the difference was very slight—less than 1 per cent). In none of these instances was the proportion of young women voting higher than that of the older ones, but, on the contrary, considerably lower. The proportion of young men voting, however, was still smaller in comparison with that of their elders. The difference between the maximum proportion of voters (generally found after the age of 40 or 50) and the proportion voting in the younger age groups is smaller for women than for men. In other words, young women do not vote to a greater extent than middle-aged women; indeed, they vote less, just as young men vote less than older ones.

As far as women are concerned, the proportion of abstentions in the youngest age group (21-25) is often lower than that in the oldest group (over 70). In France, this is so in Lille, in the 14 other towns studied and in most of the rural communes investigated. In Germany, the same feature is to be observed in the 1949 and 1950 elections in Hesse, in towns with less than 20,000 inhabitants, although not in the large towns, and in the 1953 federal elections, except in communities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. With men, the reverse is more common. The proportion of abstentions is higher in the youngest group (21-25) than among their elders over the age of 70. This difference is difficult to explain. The French reporter suggests that military service, by keeping many young men away from their electoral domicile, may account for it. But this factor does not come into play in the German Federal Republic, where there is no military service, and yet the tendency showed clearly in all types of constituencies at the 1953 elections. Other factors probably have a bearing—first and foremost, the fact that women reach maturity earlier than men (they also age earlier, whence the absence of correspondence at both ends of the scale). Can it also be maintained that young women are easier to integrate into the political community than young men? In general, no, since the percentage of abstentions is usually slightly higher for the former. But in this respect, there are some particular cases which are puzzling. For example, the fact that only 6.8 per cent of the young women in the 21-25 age group at Lille abstain from voting, as

against nearly 26 per cent of the young men of the same age (the averages for men's and women's abstention being about the same, i.e. 14 per cent) merits thorough investigation.

Even more puzzling is the case of Privas, where 64 per cent of the young men in the 22-25 age group abstained, as against 16 per cent of the young women. This refusal of two out of three young men to take their place in the political community, is a new anomaly in this town of many anomalies as regards abstention statistics. Monographs dealing with such 'a-typical' cases would probably help us to a better understanding of the significance of non-voting among the two sexes. The fact that some of the material cited in the German report shows a much higher percentage of women non-voters for the 21-25 age group in the large cities than in rural districts and small urban communities of less than 20,000 inhabitants—higher, indeed, than for the over 70 age group—also needs explanation. The figures for the 1953 federal elections confirm this somewhat exceptional phenomenon. Unfortunately, on this point as on so many others, we can only ask questions, without being able even to suggest answers.

The Size of the Vote According to Occupational Category

There is still less information available on this than on the preceding problems. The Norwegian and Yugoslav national reports give none at all, and the German report deals only briefly with the question. So far as the Weimar Republic is concerned, we have only one brief observation in connexion with the 1919, 1925, 1926 and 1928 elections, when the lowest proportion of voters was found among widows, single women not gainfully occupied, and domestic servants. Two sources of information dealing with the Bonn Republic are available: firstly, direct observations made during the local elections at Frankfort in 1952, and secondly, the results of a public opinion poll carried out after the Bundestag elections in 1949. The former showed that the highest proportion of women voting was found among civil servants, followed by married women not gainfully employed, and then by women in the liberal professions. The results of the latter are shown in Table 5.

The lowest percentage of voters was that for women agricultural workers followed by industrial and office workers and then by women farmers.

The highest percentage was that for professional women, followed by civil servants and business women. These results are, of course, too fragmentary for us to be able to draw definite conclusions.

For France alone, we have a fair amount of documentary

material, thanks to the official survey made by the Ministry of the Interior in 1952-53. On this question, the national reporter has divided his data into six groups: (a) the city of Lille, where the survey covered a sample of 8,000 voters; (b) the four towns (Creil, Soissons, Tarbes, Voiron), where the whole body of electors was included; (c) the 10 towns (Angoulême, Béziers, Castelnaudary, Clamecy, Dunkirk, Le Mans, Limoges, Mulhouse, Toulouse, Troyes) where the examination of electoral registers was carried out only in certain representative districts; (d) a number of rural communes in the Oise region, each with less than 2,000 inhabitants, and semi-industrial, semi-agricultural in character, owing to their proximity to large cities (dormitory towns); (e) a group of closely populated rural communes, drawn from 19 departments; (f) Privas (Ardèche), because of the peculiarities of the results of the survey

TABLE 5. Replies to the question: 'Did you vote in the last year's Bundestag elections?'

Occupational category	Yes	No
	%	%
Women industrial workers	71	29
Women agricultural workers	66	34
Women farmers	73	27
Office workers	71	29
Civil servants	76	24
Business women	75	25
Professional women	83	17

there. It is regrettable that groups b, c and e are not very homogeneous, because of regional differences and disparities in size (especially in group c). By and large, the smallest proportion of women voters is to be found among pensioners and women of independent means, followed by farmers and farm workers, industrial workers, and women not gainfully employed, many of whom are married. In the country districts, however, the figures both for pensioners and women of independent means and for women not gainfully employed are a little above the general average. The highest proportion of voters is found among civil servants, followed in order by professional and business women. But there are a fairly large number of local exceptions, to which we shall return later. This scale is rather different from that for abstention among men; while the proportion of voters among professional and business men is generally above the average, that among civil servants, unlike their female colleagues, is generally below. Again, the proportion of voters among male industrial workers is usually above the

average, as is that among pensioners and working farmers in the country districts. The abstention level for office workers is also fairly low. These differences according to sex are sometimes very marked in the case of industrial workers, civil servants, farmers and pensioners, but less so for office workers, though the proportion of voters among them also differs as between men and women. It therefore seems necessary to consider each occupational group separately, even if only briefly. It should first be noted that there are quite definite differences between these French results and those recorded in Germany. The small proportion or industrial workers voting in one case contrasts with the large proportion in the other. On the other hand, male civil servants include the largest percentage of voters in Germany, whereas they come below the average for their sex in France. These details might throw light on certain differences in mentality between the two countries, but, unfortunately, as we at present have only one set of German figures, no reliable conclusions can be drawn.

Abstention among male workers is always below the general average for men, except in Lille, where it is very close to it (15.6 per cent for abstention among workers as against 15 per cent for the average abstention among men). The difference, incidentally, is never very great. The position is rather different in the case of women workers; the abstention figure is above the average (for their sex) in the 10 towns investigated; in the 19 rural communes and in Privas the difference is a little greater (in fact, at Privas it is considerable, there being 20 per cent of non-voters among women workers as against the average of 11.8 per cent among women as a whole). On the other hand, the proportion of non-voters among women workers is lower than the average in the communes in the Oise, in the four towns and in Lille, but the difference is never very great. If we now compare the differences between the abstention figures for men and women workers in the various places, we find that the gap is largest in the rural communes (18.7 per cent) and smallest in Lille, while the figures for the medium-sized towns come between these two extremes. So far as any conclusions can be drawn from these observations, it is apparent that the proportion of voters among women workers varies more than that among men workers, and that the difference is greatest in the rural communes. This may be due to the fact that the term 'worker' is used with many different meanings and that in the rural communes, in particular, it is applied to women and girls of farming families, who continue living at home, in a mental atmosphere which is still agricultural rather than industrial. The atmosphere of their home life would be more likely to stop them from voting (it is among farming women that the highest level of abstention is found) while their working life,

which gives them an interest in social and political problems, would incline them to vote. This might explain why their vote, although above the average for women is a long way below the average for workers. Naturally this interpretation is no more than a hypothesis.

The position with regard to clerical workers is confused, as in general the proportion of non-voters among them, for both sexes, is fairly close to the average. The percentage of men abstaining is above the average for their sex in the Oise and in the rural communes as a whole, and very near to it elsewhere—a little above it in the four-town group, a little below in Lille and the ten-town group. On the other hand, the percentage of women non-voters is appreciably lower than the average for their sex in the Oise and the rural communes, and slightly lower in the 10 towns, while it is very slightly higher in the four towns and very much higher in Lille. The gap between the abstention figures for the two sexes is widest in Lille and the towns. These variations are difficult to explain. Of course, it may be argued that the fact that a woman is working in an office takes her out of the closed family environment and brings her into contact with the wider life of society, thus tending to help her to take her place in the political world; this would account for the larger woman's vote, especially in the country districts, where the proportion of non-voters among women who stay at home is fairly high (it is lower in the towns, which explains why the difference is smaller); on the other hand, for a man, clerical work is of somewhat subordinate standing and puts him in the 'lower middle classes', whose political position is difficult because they do not feel that they have any real place in the system. All this however, is hypothetical and does not take due account of local variations.

Similar explanations might be advanced in the case of civil servants, where the behaviour of men and women appears at first sight to be rather different. The percentage of non-voters among the men is always higher than the average for their sex and that among the women always lower (except at Privas; is this because women civil servants are less susceptible to Catholic influence?). Women civil servants indeed generally include the highest proportion of voters (the same is true for Germany, judging by the Frankfort inquiry). Employment as a civil servant probably gives a woman the sense of taking a very direct part in social and political life, which would account for the very large vote. Among men civil servants, however, there is evidence of a sense of frustration and of being cut off from the community (very noticeable in France, where the Right has always fostered rather violent 'anti-civil-servant' feeling), which is responsible for the tendency not to vote. However, the fact that the difference between the men's and women's vote is very small in this case—the smallest of all—might

be explained by the general homogeneity of the civil service. But this does not exactly tally with the foregoing remarks, although there is no absolute contradiction. All this, again, is purely supposition.

Little can be said about the liberal professions. It is natural that this group should be marked by a high proportion of voters, especially among the women, who here have a very high standard of education and are closely integrated into the life of the community. The figures for Lille are all the more extraordinary, since they show 29.6 per cent of women non-voters in this group, as against an average of 14.8 per cent. Without more detailed research, it is impossible to account for this situation. On the other hand, there are some interesting peculiarities in the position of pensioners and people of independent means, for the proportion of men abstaining is less than the average for their sex (except at Privas) and that of women greater, except in the rural communes (and at Privas). Age is the decisive factor here; we have seen that women stop going to the polls at an earlier age than men, and that this movement usually begins at 60 and becomes very marked after the age of 70. Nearly all retired people belong to these higher age groups. But in the rural communes, retired women and those living on private incomes, are generally in a better position than the average woman, are better educated and take a fuller part in the life of society, which may explain why they include fewer non-voters. In Privas, the religious factor probably has to be taken into account.

The percentage of non-voters among women farmers and farm workers is everywhere much higher than the average for women. This seems only natural as they are the least emancipated and the least developed intellectually of all women, and so have least consciousness of forming part of a wider community. Abstention among men farmers, on the other hand, is less than the general average in the country districts, which, too, is natural, as they feel that they have a vital part to play. In this connexion, the dormitory towns in the Oise are particularly interesting. There the farming group has the lowest percentage of non-voters, equal with the industrial workers, and closely followed by the members of the liberal professions and civil servants. Is this the result of keen rivalry between several groups struggling for leadership? This would tally quite well with the very low average percentage of non-voters among the men (11.4 per cent). Among women voters, however, the differences are not so clear-cut and their enthusiasm for elections much less. Are they less interested in this struggle? This might explain why the percentage of non-voters among housewives, who make up more than half of the female electorate, is definitely higher than the average. All this requires careful and thorough investigation.

The special circumstances obtaining in the Oise might also explain the fact that only there is the abstention level for agricultural wage-earners of both sexes below the average. As a result of the influence of urban workers and the competitive atmosphere prevailing between the different groups, they have there emerged from the backward social state, which everywhere else results in a high proportion of non-voters. A similar explanation might perhaps be given for the fact that only in these communes in the Oise are the abstention figures for shopkeepers and craftsmen above the general average. It may be that they stand aside from the struggle in order to keep their customers.

Everywhere else, the abstention level for shopkeepers of both sexes, is below the average, particularly for women shopkeepers in rural communes. This will seem perfectly natural to anyone who is familiar with the importance of shops in village social life and with the prominent part played by women in them. Generally speaking, moreover, running a shop brings the owner into direct contact with the whole community and so promotes integration. This would explain the higher percentage of voters in general. The similarity of the circumstances of men and women in this respect may also explain the fact that the difference in the abstention figures for the two sexes is usually quite small.

Finally there is the question of those 'not gainfully employed'. As regards men, this group is among those where the proportion of non-voters is highest. It is, incidentally, a very small group. But among women, it generally represents more than half the electorate; its size alone accounts for the fact that its abstention level is usually very close to the average, being the same in the 14 towns, a little lower in the rural communes and in Lille and Privas, and a little higher in the communes in the Oise. At first glance this may seem surprising, running counter to the generally accepted idea that the integration of women into the business and professional life of the community helps forward their political integration. In reality, this question cannot be considered without reference to that of the way husband and wife vote, which will be dealt with below.

The Size of the Vote According to Marital Status

Is the proportion of abstentions highest among married women, widows, divorcees or single women? Is the proportion of voters for each type of marital status identical in both sexes? Unfortunately we have only one set of data to help us answer these questions which are extremely important in view of the influence of marital status on women's electoral behaviour. This is the report of a survey covering 26,000 people carried out in connexion with a local

election held in Frankfort on 4 May 1952. No reliable conclusions can be drawn from this single case, but a few comments may be made. The lowest percentage of non-voters is found in two categories which, at first sight, appear entirely different, i.e. married women not gainfully employed and civil servants who are widows or unmarried. The latter are typically representative of the emancipated woman, closest in professional status to the man, while the former, being dependent on their husbands and engaged in the traditional occupations of the housewife, are much less concerned with the world of politics. Some people may therefore think that the proportion of voters has not the same significance in these two cases; that, in the first, it is indicative of direct political integration of the woman and, in the second, more probably, of a tendency to follow the political behaviour of the husband. The proportion of voters among widows is lower than that among married women, with single women coming third and divorcees fourth. Is this because the latter feel that they stand slightly apart from society, that they have not succeeded in taking their place in it? There are some curious individual cases. While single and widowed civil servants have the lowest percentage of abstentions, divorced civil servants have the highest. This, of course, may be due to the very small number in each of these categories.

Among men, widowers include the highest proportion of voters, closely followed by married men. Far behind come divorced men, and some way behind them, bachelors. We are therefore compelled to discard the simple theory that the small percentage of abstentions for married women is due to their obedience to their husbands' instructions, for marriage also increases the proportion of voters among men. The single person, whether man or woman, probably feels less closely integrated in the society than the married couple. The political behaviour of husband and wife is usually identical, as we shall see below, but this does not mean that it is unilaterally determined by the husband.

Other distinctions might be made among voters, in addition to those relating to the kind of community or election, age, occupational category and marital status. Religion, for example, seems to be of some importance. Some German public opinion polls show that a higher proportion of Catholic than of Protestant women vote in elections, while, in France, we have already seen that the influence of Catholicism tends to lower the abstention figures for women. But the religious factor is very closely bound up with the way people vote which is probably true of the other factors as well, if not to the same extent.

THE WAY WOMEN VOTE

What parties do women tend to vote for? Is the distribution of men's and women's votes the same or different, and if different, where does the difference lie? These questions can be asked in only three of the four countries in which the investigation was carried out, i.e. Germany, France and Norway. In Yugoslavia, with the single list of candidates, they have no meaning. We might, of course, try to find out whether the proportion of blank ballot papers (indicating opposition) handed in is the same or different for men and women, but the number of blank papers is much too small in proportion to the number of votes cast for percentages according to sex to have any significance. In any case, we have no information at all on this subject.

The material at present available for the other three countries is extremely limited. For Norway, we have nothing but the results of a few public opinion polls. As the differences in electoral behaviour revealed by them are small, as the number of 'no answer' responses is generally higher for women, and as the attitude of voters at the time of the vote is not absolutely identical with that revealed by the opinion survey, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions from such investigations. In the same way, Miss Kittelson's inquiry into the possible correlation between the rise or fall in the Socialist vote in 28 towns, and the rise or fall of the abstention figures for women does not allow of the formulation of any very definite conclusions.

These are possible only if men's and women's votes are counted separately. In France this was done, not without difficulty, in two towns, Belfort and Vienne (Isère) between 1946 and 1951. In Germany, a fairly large number of similar experiments has been carried out under both the Weimar and Bonn Republics. But such counts were exceptional until the issue of the Order of 31 July 1953 by the Minister of the Interior, in connexion with the ballot held on 6 September 1953, which decreed that separate counts should be taken in certain representative constituencies selected from all parts of the Federal Republic. Separate counts were made not only for the two sexes, but also for different age groups, with the help of information entered on the ballot papers. It is most unfortunate that the results of this experiment, unique in election history, could not be embodied in this report until after it had already been written and that, even then, in the absence of any publication giving the full official results, only brief references to them were possible.

With these reservations, it seems possible to draw three kinds of conclusions: (a) Husband and wife appear to vote in the same way; any differences between the votes of the sexes therefore depend

entirely on those of unmarried men and women. (b) These differences between the sexes are generally slight but the general trend seems clear: the woman's vote favours the conservative and religious parties more than the man's. (c) The influence of women on election results therefore seems to be small, since the differences in voting as between the sexes are generally almost negligible. Account must, however, be taken of indirect influence and the 'arbitration' value of 'marginal' votes in certain circumstances.

THE TENDENCY FOR HUSBAND AND WIFE TO VOTE IN THE SAME WAY

Attention was drawn to this tendency in the report, based on public opinion surveys carried out in the Netherlands, which was presented to The Hague congress. It was estimated from these surveys, that 92 per cent of married women voted in the same way as their husbands. The tendency is confirmed by the evidence provided by the French and Norwegian national reporters and by the results of the survey conducted by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research in June 1953.

The figures obtained in all these cases vary only slightly. In Norway, according to the results of the survey carried out by the FAKTA Institute, 88.9 per cent of wives vote the same way as their husbands. The IFOP investigation in France gave 89 per cent. The limited survey, covering 96 people, carried out in Paris by the French national reporter gave 86 per cent, but most of those questioned belonged to social groups in which the difference between the votes seems to be rather greater. We may therefore state, as a general rule, that in about 90 per cent of couples, the electoral behaviour of husband and wife is the same. The differences in voting between the sexes, which we shall consider below, therefore relates solely to: (a) 10 per cent of married women; (b) single, divorced or widowed women.

It is rather difficult to determine what variations there may be, according to age, political party, profession, etc., in the extent to which the votes of husband and wife are the same. The differences are generally very slight and thus scarcely significant, especially as we have no direct evidence but can judge only from the results of public opinion surveys. In an article published in the journal *Population* in 1951,[1] Mr. Fougeyrollas gives the following table of voting differences between husband and wife, classified according to the husband's occupation.

1. No. 1, p. 95.

Business men . . .	0 %	Civil servants . . .	11 %
Workers	8 %	Shopkeepers and craftsmen	16 %
Clerical workers . . .	11 %	Professional men . .	17 %

Standard of living does not appear to have much influence, since we find business men, one of the higher income groups, next to workers, one of the lowest. Perhaps the reason for the figures, in the 'business men' group, is that traditional ideas of the role of women are stronger in that case than in others. In this class, indeed, women often lead an idle, frivolous, worldly life and consider politics as 'a man's business'. In the case of the workers, greater consciousness of common class interests might explain the higher proportion of identical votes cast by husbands and wives. All this, however, is pure conjecture. From another point of view, whether or not the wife works independently does not seem to influence the voting unity of the couple to any great extent, although women who do not work seem slightly more inclined to vote with their husbands.

Age seems to have a fairly considerable influence in this matter. If the age of the husband is taken as the reference, we find, in France, that, if the husband is more than 50, 97 per cent of the couples vote the same way, but if he is under 50, only 80 per cent. Admittedly, the sample from which these figures are drawn is too small for them to be considered as anything more than a general indication, but nevertheless they are significant. Is this difference to be attributed to the fact that young couples respect the independence of the woman more than older ones, or simply to the fact that identity of opinion tends to develop with the duration of the marriage (most elderly couples also having been married a long time)? We are not in a position to answer this question.

In his report on Norway, Mr. Gronseth investigated the degree of agreement in voting between husband and wife, according to their political sympathies. The results are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6

Parties	Vote usually identical	Vote always identical	Vote never identical
	%	%	%
Communists	96	2	2
Agrarians	90	8	2
Labour	86	5	9
Conservatives	79	7	14
Christians	75	15	10
Liberals	71	13	16

The basic distinction, then, is not between Left and Right, as the Agrarians quite definitely belong to the right. Mr. Gronseth suggests the socio-economic homogeneity or heterogeneity of the party as an explanation, as the percentage of couples voting similarly is higher in the parties which are more homogeneous from the socio-economic standpoint. Many other factors probably come into play, however, such as the very traditional way of life in the case of the Agrarian party, peasant women being less emancipated than townswomen. It is possible that the effect of the various factors differs with the social environment. In Communist working-class households the women are generally politically conscious and are anxious for emancipation, but vote in the same way as their husbands because of the beliefs they share. In peasant households, as in the business men's households in France, the fact that both partners vote the same way may have a quite different significance, reflecting the dependence of the woman, her lack of political emancipation, her political submission to her husband. Among the middle classes, the women's general standard of education, combined with the fact that they are less politically class conscious than their husbands, may lead them to vote differently. These are, of course, all suppositions, but they have some use as indicating how difficult it is to find the true explanations and how dangerous any one-sided attempt at explanation may be.

TABLE 7

	Men	Women not gainfully employed	Women gainfully employed	Total number of women
Identity of economic interests	1	2	1	3
Same views on life in general	8	21	—	21 (40%)
If we get on at home we are bound also to agree on politics	14 (58%)	2	—	2 (4%)
To avoid arguments	1 (4%)	7	3	10 (20%)
Not concerned with politics and have confidence in husband's opinions	—	8	7	15 (30%)
No answer	3	3	2	5
TOTAL	27	43	13	56

The French reporter's inquiries regarding the reasons underlying similarities or differences in the way husbands and wives vote furnish some most useful information on the subject, although, numerically, the field covered was much too small (Table 7).

It is not possible, from these figures, to give a definite answer to the vital question: does the wife's vote depend on the husband's or the husband's on the wife's? They do, however, give a fairly clear pointer. Nearly a third of the women questioned stated that they voted in the same way as their husbands primarily because they were not interested in politics themselves and preferred to rely on their husbands' judgment. No man gave such a reply. One-fifth of the women questioned said that they wanted 'to avoid arguments', but only *one* man gave this answer. All this suggests that it is the husband and not the wife who decides which way the couple will vote. There is also confirmation of this in the fact that more than half the men questioned accounted for the couple's voting in the same way by the statement: 'If we get on at home, we are bound also to agree on politics'—a formula accepted by only two women out of fifty.

DIFFERENCES IN VOTING BETWEEN THE SEXES

As we have seen, these differences relate mainly to unmarried or divorced women and widows. Only 10 per cent of married women vote differently from their husbands. Two types of material are available from which to measure these differences: (a) results of public opinion polls, which, for the reasons already given, are difficult to use for this purpose; we shall refer to them only to corroborate or qualify the results obtained from the other source; (b) separate counts of votes. Such counts have been made, as an exceptional measure, in certain French constituencies and, to a greater extent, in Germany.

The evidence thus obtained seems, on the whole, to confirm the hypotheses formulated at The Hague regarding the more conservative character of the woman's vote, and the influence of religion. On the other hand, the results are less definite so far as another hypothesis put forward at The Hague is concerned, i.e. the greater instability of the woman's vote. Examples of greater instability are to be found, but there are just as many examples of greater stability. Stability in voting is, in any event, extremely difficult to define exactly. On other points sometimes taken up by the anti-feminists, no definite conclusions can be drawn, i.e. the ease with which the woman's vote is influenced by personalities, and by parties with dictatorial leanings. At all events, it should be noted

that such differences in electoral behaviour as are to be seen between the sexes are never very considerable and that, on the whole, men and women vote on much the same lines.

The More Conservative Character of the Woman's Vote

It may be well to begin by defining clearly in what sense the word 'conservative' is used. In this connexion, the Norwegian reporter makes an interesting point. Some people hold, he observes, that the attitude of the parties known as 'conservative' is not necessarily the most static in all fields, and that, conversely, the attitude of the Socialist parties is not necessarily the most progressive on every question. Nothing could be truer. None the less, in general, the parties of the Right are interested in maintaining the traditional forms of economic, social and political organization, while the parties of the Left seek to replace them by new forms. For tactical reasons, of course, a Right-wing party may be less conservative on a particular issue than a party of the Left, but this does not compromise the general strategy of either. In conformity with common usage, we shall therefore consider any vote for a Right-wing or Right-centre party to be 'conservative', though this is to be taken only as a basic definition.

Within these limits, there seems to be little doubt that the woman's vote is more conservative. This is shown fairly clearly even by the opinion poll results. For Norway, for example, Table 8 shows the distribution of votes in the 1945 and 1949 parliamentary elections, as ascertained through a survey carried out by the FAKTA Institute:

TABLE 8

Parties	1945		1949	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%
Communists	3	7	3	6
Socialists	44	54	47	52
Agrarians	10	10	10	11.5
Liberals	13	14	14	16
Christian People	6	3	8	3
Conservatives	24	12	18	11.5

If we now count the respective percentages of men's and women's votes obtained by each party, we get the result shown in Table 9.

The difference in voting between the sexes has lessened since 1945

but it is still large. It will be noted that the Agrarians and the Liberals, though nearer to the Right than to the Left, were not much

TABLE 9

Parties	1945		1949	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%
Communists	27	73	24	76
Socialists	38	62	40	60
Agrarians	42	58	38	62
Liberals	42	58	40	60
Christian People	56	44	65	35
Conservatives	53	47	53	47

favoured by women voters. In the first case, the reason may be that the proportion of women non-voters is higher in the country than in the towns, while in the second the question of religion may come into play.

The surveys conducted by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research give very similar results. Table 10 shows the respective percentages of men's and women's votes that would have been obtained by the various parties, according to the answers given to the investigators.

TABLE 10

Parties	1947		1950		1952	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Communists	32	68	37	63	39	61
Socialists	42	58	45	55	41	59
MRP	52	48	48	52	53	47
RGR	47	53	49	51	36	64
Moderates	52	48	51	49	53	47
RPF	—	—	51	49	53	47

The difference between the men's and women's votes is less clearly defined than in Norway. The fairly large differences to be noted from one survey to the next can be explained by the political situation at the time. It should be noted that the question asked of voters in the French investigation was not, as in the FAKTA survey, 'How did you vote in such and such an election?' but 'How

would you vote if there were to be an election now?', which is rather different.

In Western Germany, the survey conducted by the Unesco Institute at Cologne in connexion with the Federal elections of 1953, gave the results shown in Table 11 for the three major parties.

TABLE 11. Analytical table of women's votes in the 1953 Bundestag elections

	CDU	SPD	FDP
Age	%	%	%
18-24	0	1	7
25-29	12	12	7
30-44	39	41	5
45-59	32	33	50
60+	17	13	31
	100	100	100
Religion			
Protestant	37	59	67
Catholic	62	35	31
Others	—	1	—
No religion	1	5	2
	100	100	100
Marital status			
Married women	64	74	66
Single women	13	5	20
Widows	19	15	9
Divorced women	1	4	5
Husband away	3	2	—
	100	100	100
Education			
Primary school	83	94	60
Secondary school	12	4	31
School leaving certificate (Abitur)	4	2	7
University	1	—	2
	100	100	100

Source: *Federal Survey*, Unesco Institute for Social Sciences.

The very fact that these different surveys give more or less concordant results is, in itself, presumptive evidence of the accuracy of those results. Thanks to the separate counts of votes made in France

and Germany, however, they can be checked. In France, separate ballot boxes for the two sexes have been used in two towns, Vienne (Isère) and Belfort, since 1945. At Vienne, P. Baurel has devised an index to enable the size of the woman's vote for any given party to be measured. The French reporter says that this index is calculated as follows: 'Starting with the percentage of men's and women's votes as compared with the total numbers entered on the electoral roll, the percentage of women's votes is divided by that of the men's votes for any given party. When the result equals 1, the index is 100. An index higher than 100 thus indicates that the party concerned received a higher percentage of women's votes.' Unfortunately, the French report does not give complete results. For the parliamentary elections of 1951 it gives: Socialists, 79; MRP, 141; Moderates, 106; RPF, 80.

Table 12 shows the results for the 1945-46 elections at Belfort (expressed as percentages of the votes obtained by each party):

TABLE 12

	21 Oct. 1945		2 June 1946		16 Nov. 1946	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Communists	49.6	50.4	46.7	53.3	47.6	52.4
Socialists	50.4	49.6	46.8	53.2	46.5	53.5
MRP	57.4	42.6	57.9	42.1	57.6	42.4
RGR	—	—	48.5	—	—	—
Moderates	53.7	46.3	—	—	53.9	46.1
Gaullists	—	—	—	—	55.1	44.9

The case of the Rassemblement des Gauches (Radicals and associated parties) is somewhat peculiar. At the June 1946 elections, this party's list was headed by a very strong personality; this may partly explain its success with women voters, which is unusual when compared with the results of the surveys quoted.

In Germany, before the large-scale experiment undertaken at the Federal elections of 6 September 1953, a fairly large number of separate counts had been kept, both under the Weimar and under the Bonn Republic. Since the problem is so important and so few separate counts have been kept anywhere in the world, it seems advisable to give the results obtained, as quoted in the German report, in full (Tables 13 to 16).

The separate counts kept for the elections of 6 September 1953 gave similar results. The percentage of the women's votes obtained by the Christian Democrats was 45.5 per cent as against 37.9 per cent of the men's votes; the Socialist party, on the other hand, received

TABLE 13. Weimar Republic: Distribution of male and female voters over the political parties (per hundred of votes)

Year	Election	Deutsch 'Nationale' (German Nationalists)		Deutsche Volkspartei (Peoples Party)		Bürgerliche Einheitsliste (Bourgeois Unity)		Zentrum (Centre)		Deutsche Wirtschaftpartei (German Economic Party)		Demokraten (Democrats)		NSDAP 'Völkische' (National Socialists)		SPD (Socialist Party)		KPD (Communist Party)	
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
REICH																			
1920	Reichstag[1]	4.4	5.6	13.0	13.2	—	—	20.0	28.8	—	—	7.0	6.2	—	—	25.4	19.2	2.4	1.4
LÄNDER																			
Bavaria																			
1919	Landtag	—	—	1.4	2.6	—	—	32.7	49.0	—	—	17.2	16.4	—	—	42.6	28.0	—	—
1920	Landtag	—	—	8.8	10.5	—	—	34.0	48.6	—	—	12.5	11.9	—	—	21.2	15.4	6.3	3.0
1924	Landtag	4.4	4.7	2.0	2.2	—	—	17.2	27.8	—	—	3.4	3.1	32.0	31.4	19.4	15.9	17.9	11.8
1924	Reichstag[1]	9.4	10.3	0.9	0.8	—	—	13.5	20.7	2.3	2.4	3.6	3.3	25.7	26.3	24.4	22.2	17.1	11.2
1928	Reichstag[2]	6.3	7.6	3.6	3.6	—	—	23.9	38.1	4.6	3.9	5.1	4.3	8.7	6.2	36.5	28.4	5.8	3.1
1928	Landtag	5.5	6.8	2.9	3.0	—	—	24.6	38.6	5.0	4.1	5.5	4.6	8.3	5.9	36.5	28.1	5.7	3.0
1928	Kreistag	5.6	6.7	3.6	3.7	—	—	25.5	40.5	4.4	3.5	7.2	6.1	7.8	5.8	33.7	24.9	4.8	2.2
1928	Bezirkstag	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.5	—	—	19.3	29.9	0.2	0.1	4.4	4.4	6.8	5.2	40.2	33.5	2.9	1.5
1930	Reichstag	2.4	3.0	2.7	2.9	—	—	21.8	35.8	3.9	3.5	3.8	3.4	18.9	14.2	29.0	23.8	12.5	7.3

1. First election. 2. Second election.

Bremen																			
1930	Reichstag	6.0	8.1	14.2	18.7	—	—	2.1	2.8	3.9	3.9	5.7	6.0	12.9	11.1	35.1	32.5	14.6	9.2
Hesse																			
1928	Reichstag	3.2	3.7	10.7	11.9	—	—	12.0	20.7	1.4	1.2	6.5	6.0	2.4	1.4	34.1	30.1	10.4	6.7
Saxony																			
1922	Landtag	12.5	14.8	23.6	26.6	—	—	0.8	0.9	—	—	8.9	8.7	—	—	40.2	38.3	13.9	10.6
1924	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	48.8	54.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28.0	27.4	20.0	15.6
Thüringia																			
1924	Landtag	—	—	—	—	46.0	50.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.5	9.0	23.4	22.9	19.9	17.1
1925	President of the Reich[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.3	1.5	—	—	4.2	3.9	1.8	1.3	33.1	32.1	11.5	8.9
1925	President of the Reich[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.3	8.6
1927	Landtag	—	—	—	—	31.6	35.8	—	—	9.4	9.5	3.4	3.3	5.3	4.1	31.8	31.4	15.6	12.5
1928	Reichstag	20.3	21.4	9.8	12.6	—	—	0.9	1.2	7.8	7.7	3.8	3.8	4.9	3.8	35.2	34.5	14.9	11.8
1929	Reichstag	3.1	4.9	7.6	10.1	—	—	1.0	1.4	9.3	9.9	3.0	2.9	12.2	10.3	32.7	31.9	13.0	10.6
1930	Reichstag	2.6	3.8	4.8	6.4	—	—	0.9	1.3	5.2	5.5	2.9	3.2	20.8	18.6	30.7	31.3	17.1	13.7
TOWNS, COMMUNITIES, ETC.																			
Berlin-Spandau																			
1921	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.7	6.2	—	—	9.0	8.3	—	—	30.4	26.9	7.6	5.2
1921	Landtag	14.2	19.1	16.0	18.4	—	—	3.6	5.8	4.1	3.9	7.0	5.8	—	—	31.6	27.9	8.4	6.0
1924	Reichstag[1]	17.6	22.4	8.4	9.2	—	—	3.1	4.9	3.8	3.9	4.9	4.7	9.6	8.2	26.5	26.4	20.7	15.2
1924	Reichstag[2]	19.5	24.5	6.3	6.9	—	—	3.6	5.2	4.2	4.2	6.8	6.3	3.8	2.7	40.2	38.8	14.1	9.9
1925	President of the Reich[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.0	6.8
1925	President of the Reich[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.1	5.8
1925	Municipal elections	18.1	23.6	5.5	5.8	—	—	3.1	5.0	6.0	5.4	5.4	4.4	—	—	41.9	40.9	15.0	9.7

1. First election. 2. Second election.

Year	Election	Deutsch 'Nationale' (German Nationalists)		Deutsche Volkspartei (Peoples Party)		Bürgerliche Einheitsliste (Bourgeois Unity)		Zentrum (Centre)		Deutsche Wirtschaftpartei (German Economic Party)		Demokraten (Democrats)		NSDAP 'Völkische' (National Socialists)		SPD (Socialist Party)		(Communist Party) KPD	
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOWNS, COMMUNITIES, ETC. *(contd.)*																			
Berlin																			
1928	Reichstag	15.5	19.7	6.2	6.7	—	—	2.6	4.0	2.8	2.5	7.7	7.7	2.6	2.2	32.7	33.1	27.7	21.9
1928	Municipal elections	15.0	20.0	6.2	7.2	—	—	2.8	4.2	4.5	4.2	6.1	5.9	6.8	5.4	28.4	28.4	28.2	21.4
1930	Reichstag	10.8	14.9	3.2	4.1	—	—	2.8	4.3	2.5	2.3	5.4	5.3	15.2	14.1	26.8	27.7	31.0	24.0
Bremen																			
1924	Reichstag[1]	10.1	13.1	18.1	22.6	—	—	2.1	2.7	—	—	13.0	13.8	5.9	5.2	39.2	34.4	10.7	7.3
1924	Municipal elections	8.8	11.6	15.7	19.9	—	—	1.9	2.6	7.7	8.1	1.4	12.0	4.5	4.0	37.9	33.3	10.8	7.3
1930	Municipal elections	4.2	5.9	10.5	14.9	—	—	1.9	2.8	1.9	1.9	3.5	3.9	26.1	25.3	31.5	29.0	14.1	9.1
Bruchsal																			
1919	National Assembly	4.0	4.0	—	—	—	—	32.6	52.3	—	—	24.1	22.5	—	—	39.2	21.3	—	—
Ansbach																			
1919	Landtag	—	—	9.4	20.7	—	—	9.0	11.3	—	—	31.9	33.5	—	—	47.4	33.1	—	—
1920	Landtag	—	—	21.3	33.1	—	—	7.2	9.3	—	—	28.6	27.8	—	—	18.5	13.3	7.9	4.3
1924	Landtag	6.7	10.5	1.0	0.8	—	—	5.3	7.3	—	—	4.9	4.3	49.6	52.8	25.6	20.0	5.4	3.1
1924	Reichstag[1]	10.9	16.3	—	—	—	—	5.6	7.2	—	—	4.5	3.8	45.3	47.6	23.8	18.4	4.0	2.1

1. First election.

Düsseldorf																			
1928	Reichstag	10.5	12.2	10.5	11.0	—	—	17.5	29.1	7.3	6.6	3.7	3.3	2.1	1.4	18.3	14.6	26.9	18.7
Frankfort-am-Main																			
1928	Reichstag	7.9	9.2	11.6	12.5	—	—	8.5	13.9	5.1	4.9	8.4	8.1	5.1	4.0	34.8	33.0	14.6	10.4
1928	Municipal elections	7.3	8.8	9.8	10.9	—	—	8.1	13.5	5.7	5.4	7.9	7.8	5.1	3.8	33.1	31.9	15.0	10.5
1930	Reichstag	1.9	2.4	8.1	9.3	—	—	8.2	13.2	4.8	4.7	5.8	5.8	22.2	19.3	27.7	26.6	17.3	12.7
Gera																			
1927	Landtag	—	—	—	—	29.0	32.7	—	—	7.0	6.7	1.9	1.8	3.6	2.9	44.4	43.8	11.0	8.1
1928	Reichstag	1.6	2.3	21.1	24.6	—	—	0.6	0.8	7.7	7.2	2.2	1.8	4.4	3.7	49.8	49.0	10.2	7.7
1928	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	22.3	26.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.7	1.3	44.9	44.8	11.5	8.5
Hagen/Westph.																			
1924	Reichstag[1]	13.0	16.3	10.9	12.7	—	—	14.6	22.7	—	—	13.1	13.1	5.3	3.8	7.2	5.6	29.0	19.7
1924	Reichstag[2]	14.3	18.5	11.5	13.8	—	—	16.8	25.4	—	—	14.6	13.9	1.8	1.2	15.2	11.0	21.2	12.9
1925	President of the Reich[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	19.0	26.1	—	—	13.0	12.4	1.0	0.7	22.9	16.5	14.5	7.8
1925	President of the Reich[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.5	8.1
1925	Landtag	10.8	14.3	11.8	17.1	—	—	17.0	27.3	—	—	10.0	8.4	1.0	0.3	20.1	12.3	20.0	10.2
1928	Reichstag	8.1	10.7	8.5	10.9	—	—	13.2	22.1	6.5	7.0	9.7	9.3	2.5	1.6	25.1	19.8	22.4	14.9
1930	Reicwstag	2.7	3.6	2.5	3.4	—	—	12.7	20.0	2.4	2.5	4.5	4.7	23.3	20.3	15.0	13.1	29.4	20.5
Heilbronn																			
1928	Reichstag	5.6	8.2	6.7	7.3	—	—	4.9	7.1	0.7	0.8	18.1	19.5	2.4	1.5	50.8	44.7	4.7	2.6
1928	Landtag	6.0	8.3	5.6	6.2	—	—	5.3	7.7	0.8	0.5	18.7	19.9	2.1	1.2	50.8	44.3	4.8	2.8
Hindenburg																			
1928	Reichstag	14.1	13.6	2.3	2.1	—	—	19.9	35.0	2.1	1.7	2.4	2.3	2.0	1.4	17.1	13.0	33.2	21.4
Karlsruhe																			
1929	Landtag	3.6	5.7	12.0	12.7	—	—	15.6	25.6	4.4	4.1	6.1	5.5	13.1	9.3	32.0	25.0	7.6	3.7

1. First election. 2. Second election.

Year	Election	Deutsch 'Nationale' (German Nationalists) M.	F.	Deutsche Volkspartei (Peoples Party) M.	F.	Bürgerliche Einheitsliste (Bourgeois Unity) M.	F.	Zentrum (Centre) M.	F.	Deutsche Wirtschaftpartei (German Economic Party) M.	F.	Demokraten (Democrats) M.	F.	NSDAP 'Völkische' (National Socialists) M.	F.	SPD (Socialist Party) M.	F.	KPD (Communist Party) M.	F.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOWNS, COMMUNITIES, ETC. *(contd.)*																			
Cologne																			
1919	National Assembly	2.2	3.3	5.3	5.5	—	—	32.9	47.6	—	—	11.5	10.5	—	—	46.1	32.2	—	—
1919	Municipal elections	1.8	2.3	5.1	5.1	—	—	32.2	53.0	—	—	7.2	5.5	—	—	44.6	30.0	—	—
1920	Reichstag	2.7	3.0	14.7	14.3	—	—	27.8	44.7	—	—	5.6	4.2	—	—	30.4	21.9	—	—
1921	Landtag	4.8	5.2	14.8	14.1	—	—	31.3	49.2	—	—	5.0	3.9	—	—	30.7	20.9	10.9	5.5
1924	Reichstag[1]	6.5	6.7	10.6	10.5	—	—	24.8	41.5	5.7	5.1	3.6	3.2	4.8	3.3	14.5	10.4	21.8	11.9
1924	Reichstag[2]	7.3	7.1	12.0	11.8	—	—	27.3	44.0	5.3	4.5	5.0	4.4	1.3	0.7	23.4	16.3	15.0	7.7
1924	President of the Reich[1]	—	—	—	—	23.5	24.1	32.0	45.8	—	—	4.9	4.1	1.3	0.7	27.0	19.5	10.5	5.1
1924	President of the Reich[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.0	3.4
1925	Landtag	5.8	5.7	8.0	8.0	—	—	30.8	50.4	3.6	2.8	3.5	2.7	0.6	0.3	26.1	17.3	17.9	8.3
1928	Reichstag	5.7	5.3	11.9	12.1	—	—	21.5	37.8	5.0	4.3	4.5	3.9	2.2	1.4	28.1	21.3	18.1	11.0
1929	Municipal elections	2.7	2.7	10.1	10.4	—	—	26.7	44.0	8.3	7.0	3.3	3.0	5.7	3.4	24.3	17.9	17.2	9.9
1930	Reichstag	1.6	1.7	6.2	7.2	—	—	18.1	31.8	5.7	5.3	4.7	4.5	19.8	15.5	20.9	18.0	20.7	13.2
Landau																			
1930	Reichstag	0.5	0.7	13.4	16.8	—	—	16.5	28.2	5.1	4.2	7.1	7.2	35.1	26.1	13.4	9.5	6.2	3.5

1. First election. 2. Second election.

Leipzig																			
1921	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	36.5	42.1	—	—	—	—	8.4	8.8	1.3	1.1	43.2	40.2	10.6	7.8
1922	Landtag	2.6	15.0	25.5	28.5	—	—	0.7	0.8	—	—	8.1	7.9	—	—	38.7	36.8	14.4	11.0
1924	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	30.3	35.9	—	—	—	—	8.8	9.4	10.2	9.6	28.4	27.7	22.3	17.4
1926	Landtag	7.8	9.8	16.7	19.4	—	—	0.6	0.9	3.7	3.7	5.5	5.0	1.9	1.4	36.9	37.3	21.1	16.0
1926	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	22.7	26.7	—	—	4.8	4.8	5.1	5.5	1.6	1.4	36.6	36.8	21.7	16.2
1928	Reichstag	6.7	8.8	15.5	17.5	—	—	0.7	0.8	4.5	4.8	6.7	6.7	3.0	2.3	39.0	39.1	19.7	14.8
1929	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	32.6	39.6	—	—	—	—	4.8	4.6	5.0	3.4	35.6	34.4	16.5	11.8
1929	Landtag	5.8	7.3	18.3	22.1	—	—	0.6	0.8	6.3	6.6	5.1	4.8	3.8	2.9	35.3	35.3	19.5	14.2
Ludwigshafen																			
1929	Municipal elections	0.9	1.2	7.8	9.0	—	—	15.6	21.4	8.2	8.1	5.2	4.8	9.3	6.9	35.6	30.7	12.8	8.1
1930	Reichstag	0.8	0.9	6.8	7.6	—	—	14.3	22.6	4.2	4.5	3.7	3.3	17.4	14.0	33.1	30.2	16.2	10.7
Magdeburg																			
1928	Reichstag	8.4	10.7	13.9	15.8	—	—	1.5	2.1	4.5	4.4	8.4	8.0	2.9	2.5	45.2	44.4	12.3	8.9
1928	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	24.6	27.5	1.9	2.5	—	—	7.8	7.7	8.4	7.7	44.6	44.5	11.6	8.1
1928	Landtag	9.0	11.7	12.7	14.3	—	—	1.7	2.3	4.8	4.8	6.8	6.3	7.8	6.9	44.3	44.0	11.4	7.9
1930	Reichstag	4.5	6.4	8.2	10.1	—	—	1.8	2.3	4.4	4.5	5.0	4.8	19.8	18.7	37.8	38.2	15.0	10.5
Mainz																			
1927	Landtag	4.5	3.6	7.8	7.3	—	—	17.9	34.6	—	—	14.3	11.6	—	—	39.7	31.5	9.2	4.6
Munich																			
1924	Landtag	4.1	4.4	2.1	2.0	—	—	14.7	24.6	—	—	2.7	2.4	34.9	35.0	18.6	15.8	19.3	12.9
1924	Reichstag[1]	12.1	12.5	1.1	1.0	—	—	15.1	25.9	—	—	2.9	2.5	28.8	28.2	18.1	15.0	18.6	11.1
Neisse																			
1928	Reichstag	16.9	15.1	3.3	2.2	—	—	41.0	60.9	1.1	0.7	3.1	1.9	0.4	0.2	15.9	8.0	5.4	2.1
Neuss																			
1928	Reichstag	6.4	4.7	11.4	9.9	—	—	32.3	54.8	6.6	5.3	2.8	1.9	2.0	1.0	12.9	7.5	23.1	12.5

1. First election.

Year Election	Deutsch 'Nationale' (German Nationalists)		Deutsche Volkspartei (Peoples Party)		Bürgerliche Einheitsliste (Bourgeois Unity)		Zentrum (Centre)		Deutsche Wirtschaftpartei (German Economic Party)		Demokraten (Democrats)		NSDAP 'Völkische' (National Socialists)		SPD (Socialist Party)		KPD (Communist Party)	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOWNS, COMMUNITIES, ETC. *(contd.)*																		
Neustadt/Holstein																		
1919 National Assembly	6.5	9.5	0.5	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	48.4	54.1	—	—	44.4	35.2	—	—
Nuremberg																		
1924 Reichstag[1]	6.7	7.8	0.4	0.4	—	—	5.1	7.6	6.5	6.4	3.8	3.7	25.1	26.9	34.9	33.8	15.5	11.5
Offenbach																		
1928 Reichstag	2.7	3.5	10.5	11.0	—	—	8.9	15.4	2.6	2.7	5.3	4.9	1.4	1.1	27.8	26.7	36.0	28.7
Regensburg																		
1919 Landtag	—	—	0.6	1.0	—	—	42.3	59.5	—	—	15.9	14.3	—	—	39.7	23.9	—	—
1920 Landtag	—	—	5.5	6.3	—	—	44.0	61.5	—	—	11.3	9.6	—	—	21.3	13.9	8.0	3.5
1924 Reichstag[1]	5.5	8.3	—	—	—	—	36.1	50.4	—	—	8.3	9.3	10.0	9.2	18.1	12.3	17.1	6.7
1924 Landtag	7.0	6.6	0.8	0.7	—	—	32.1	49.1	—	—	8.8	7.7	17.3	12.5	17.5	14.0	14.1	7.8

1. First election.

Rüstringen																			
1928	Municipal elections	—	—	—	—	29.5	32.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56.1	55.2	8.1	5.1
Stuttgart																			
1928	Reichstag	8.2	12.3	9.4	10.3	—	—	5.9	9.3	1.0	0.9	13.1	13.3	3.2	2.3	33.5	28.6	17.8	11.9
1928	Landtag	8.3	11.7	8.2	9.3	—	—	6.0	9.5	1.0	1.0	14.0	14.0	2.8	2.0	33.6	28.6	18.0	11.9
Ulm																			
1928	Reichstag	15.3	20.2	11.2	11.5	—	—	15.4	22.4	0.9	0.8	10.5	9.6	3.8	2.7	32.9	23.6	2.6	1.2
1928	Landtag	14.8	19.3	12.2	12.0	—	—	15.9	23.1	0.8	0.8	9.9	8.9	3.5	2.4	32.8	23.4	2.5	1.2
Wiesbaden																			
1930	Reichstag	2.5	3.3	9.3	11.8	—	—	6.9	12.6	4.3	4.5	4.2	4.4	29.1	26.0	24.3	21.2	15.5	10.2

TABLE 14. Bundestag elections (Federal Parliament) 1949: Comparative distribution of male and female votes over the major political parties per hundred of votes cast

Länder	CDU (Christian Democrats)			SPD (Socialist Party)			FDP (Democratic Party)			KPD (Communist Party)		
	M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Hesse												
Frankfort-am-Main	18.2	26.0	+ 7.8	38.0	35.3	— 2.7	27.0	26.7	— 0.3	10.6	6.4	— 4.2
Darmstadt	9.7	14.7	+ 5.0	33.7	31.6	— 2.1	41.2	42.4	+ 1.2	10.9	6.9	— 3.0
Bad Schwalbach	22.9	32.0	+ 2.1	26.5	21.2	— 5.7	35.3	32.9	— 2.4	3.5	1.9	— 1.6
Gudensberg	11.8	18.0	+ 6.2	49.6	46.9	— 2.7	22.9	23.5	+ 0.6	9.5	5.7	— 3.8
Sulzbach	20.0	23.0	+ 2.8	43.1	45.2	+ 2.1	24.7	21.8	— 2.9	12.0	10.0	— 2.0
Rhineland-Palatinate												
Ludwigshafen	24.7	35.5	+10.8	45.0	41.8	— 3.2	10.3	9.5	— 0.8	20.0	13.2	— 6.8
Neustadt	25.7	39.2	+13.5	37.6	34.5	— 3.1	16.0	16.6	+ 0.6	20.7	14.7	— 6.0
Landau	36.1	48.1	+12.0	36.5	28.6	— 7.9	19.7	19.4	— 0.3	7.7	3.9	— 3.8
Mainz-Bretzenheim	22.6	35.9	+13.3	40.7	36.7	— 4.0	15.3	11.8	— 3.5	21.4	15.6	— 5.8
Lambrecht	25.3	35.5	+10.2	42.7	38.8	— 3.9	9.5	10.4	+ 0.9	22.5	17.3	— 5.2
Neuhofen	11.6	17.3	+ 5.7	46.6	48.0	+ 1.4	14.3	13.1	— 1.2	27.9	21.0	— 6.8
Hauenstein	88.3	98.0	+ 9.7	10.6	1.7	— 8.9	0.7	0.2	— 0.5	0.4	0.1	— 0.3
Bobenheim	35.8	49.1	+13.3	41.7	35.0	— 6.7	8.0	5.1	— 2.9	14.5	10.7	— 3.5
Prüm	55.0	74.0	+19.0	29.1	17.7	—11.4	12.6	7.5	— 5.1	3.3	0.8	— 2.5
Rammelsbach	17.2	24.6	+ 7.4	38.2	37.0	— 1.2	3.9	4.3	+ 0.4	40.7	34.1	— 6.6
Schleswig Holstein												
For 12 elect. distr.	36.9	40.1	+ 3.2	29.2	27.2	— 2.0	5.3	5.6	+ 0.3	5.0	3.0	— 2.0
Flensburg	—	—	—	6.1	7.6	+ 1.5	—	—	—	1.0	0.5	— 0.5
Kiel	57.5	62.3	+ 4.8	30.5	28.5	— 2.0	1.7	1.8	+ 0.1	5.7	3.6	— 2.1
Lübeck	22.0	26.6	+ 4.6	38.9	37.5	— 1.4	12.8	13.1	+ 0.3	8.4	5.0	— 3.4
Cologne	36.5	48.6	+12.1	36.6	31.2	— 5.1	12.8	11.0	— 1.8	10.5	6.3	— 4.2
Brunswick	14.8	18.6	+ 3.8	40.9	39.0	— 1.9	5.6	5.4	— 0.2	5.7	3.8	— 1.9

TABLE 15. Comparative distribution of male and female votes among the major political parties in several communities of Land Hesse. Land legislature (19 November 1950)

Community	Sex	Total number of votes cast	SPD		CDU		FDP		KPD	
			Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
Frankfort-am-Main[1]	M.	7 921	4 056	51.2	1 075	13.6	2 224	28.1	556	7.0
	F.	8 585	4 058	47.3	1 778	20.7	2 334	27.2	403	4.7
Darmstadt	M.	20 239	9 939	49.1	1 637	8.1	7 331	36.2	1 332	6.6
	F.	21 605	10 577	49.0	2 553	11.8	7 647	35.4	828	3.8
Bischofsheim (Gross-Gerau)	M.	1 801	960	53.3	219	12.2	524	29.1	98	5.4
	F.	1 690	830	49.1	324	19.2	477	28.2	59	3.5
Gudensberg (Fritzlar-Homburg)	M.	903	501	55.5	76	8.4	253	28.0	73	8.1
	F.	1 051	565	53.8	138	13.1	302	28.7	46	4.4
Seeheim (Darmstad Land)	M.	800	315	39.4	88	11.0	278	34.7	119	14.9
	F.	926	362	39.1	136	14.7	360	38.9	68	7.3
Babenhausen (Dieburg)	M.	843	495	58.7	98	11.6	217	25.8	33	3.9
	F.	849	461	54.3	147	17.3	226	26.6	15	1.8
Besse (Fritzlar-Homburg)	M.	575	347	60.4	18	3.1	171	29.7	39	6.8
	F.	657	409	62.3	42	6.4	181	27.5	25	3.8
Leihgestern (Giess en Land)	M.	615	296	48.1	54	8.8	222	36.1	43	7.0
	F.	517	233	45.1	55	10.6	196	37.9	33	6.4

1. In 18 electoral districts, selected on representative basis.

TABLE 16. Distribution of votes among political parties: local elections 1948 and 1952

Election	Year	CDU			SPD			FDP			KPD			Others		
		M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.	M.	F.	Diff.
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Brunswick	1948	23.6	28.2	+ 4.6	46.8	43.9	— 2.9	8.1	8.5	+ 0.4	7.6	4.9	— 2.7	13.9	14.5	+ 0.6
Frankfort-am-Main	1948	21.5	30.2	+ 8.7	37.4	33.8	— 3.6	24.5	25.5	+ 1.0	14.2	8.8	— 5.4	2.4	1.7	— 0.7
	1952	15.7	22.9	+ 7.2	48.7	46.4	— 2.3	14.6	14.2	— 0.4	6.1	3.7	— 2.4	14.9	12.8	— 2.1
Kiel	1948	44.3	49.7	+ 5.4	46.3	43.5	— 2.8	—	—	—	5.9	3.3	— 2.6	3.5	3.5	0
Cologne	1948	35.6	48.1	+12.5	41.2	35.0	— 6.2	8.1	6.6	— 1.5	13.6	3.3	—10.3	1.5	1.8	+ 0.3
	1952	35.6	48.8	+13.2	41.2	34.0	— 7.2	12.7	10.5	— 2.2	6.4	3.7	— 2.7	4.1	3.0	— 1.1

only 26.6 per cent of the women's as against 31.7 per cent of the men's votes; the Communists 1.6 per cent of the women's as against 2.9 per cent of the men's votes; while the Liberal Party (FDP) obtained a slightly lower proportion of the women's than the men's votes (10.1 per cent as against 11.4 per cent). For the 'Refugees' group, the proportions were exactly identical.

TABLE 17

Party	Men				Women			
	Total	Under 30 yrs	30-60 yrs	60 yrs +	Total	Under 30 yrs	30-60 yrs	60 yrs +
CDU	379	403	361	411	455	467	438	496
SPD	317	333	321	293	266	280	273	238
FDP/DVP	114	97	120	111	101	91	106	93
GB/BHE	58	49	62	56	58	50	51	64
KPD	29	22	32	25	16	14	18	13
Others	78	69	80	78	69	63	69	71
Invalid paper	25	27	24	26	35	35	35	35
	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000	1 000

These results, on the whole, confirm those previously recorded. The parties of the Left (Socialists and Communists) are unpopular with the women voters—to a minor degree, the Socialists, to a much greater extent, the Communists. The traditional Liberal parties are not much favoured by women. The classic Right-wing parties (such as the Deutsche Nationale Partei), on the other hand, receive a slightly higher proportion of women's votes, but the parties benefiting most from them are the Christian parties, the 'Zentrum' under the Weimar Republic and the CDU-CSU today. The difference between the percentages of men's and women's votes obtained by them is sometimes considerable. In Bavaria and Cologne, for example, under the Weimar Republic it was often as high as 15 per cent of the total number of votes and sometimes even 20 per cent. In some cases, more than half the women electors voted for the 'Zentrum', which received only a quarter or a third of the men's votes. The differences recorded under the Bonn Republic are, however, slightly smaller.

It is in the most Catholic districts of Germany that the difference between the numbers of men's and women's votes cast for the Christian parties is usually largest. This reflects the general distribution of voters (men and women) among the parties according to their religious attitude. According to the investigation carried out by the Unesco Institute at Cologne on the German parliamentary

elections in 1949, more than two-thirds of those who voted CDU were Catholics.

TABLE 18

	Protestants	Catholics	Others
	%	%	%
CDU	37	67	—
SPD	59	35	6
FDP	67	31	2

We may therefore assume that the support generally given by women to religious parties is mainly due to Catholic women. But much more detailed analysis is necessary if we are to be able to draw any definite conclusions on this subject.

Having seen that the woman's vote is generally more conservative and more 'Christian' than that of the man, we still have to explain this phenomenon. It can probably not be usefully considered without reference to its general social context, in other words, the position of women in society. We shall therefore have occasion to return to it in the last part of this report. There are, however, special factors which may play a part, one of which, in particular, is emphasized in the French report, viz. the differences between the sexes in the age pyramid. Generally speaking, there are more old women than old men and, in particular, older women living alone are more numerous than men of the same age group living alone. In France, in the section of the electorate under 50 years of age, there are about the same number of men without wives as there are women without husbands, but in the section over 50 there are about three times as many women living alone. The exact figures, according to the 1946 census, are as follows:

TABLE 19

Family situation	Under 50		50+	
	Single men	Single women	Single men	Single women
Unmarried	2 541 227	2 014 458	331 049	685 408
Widowed	138 907	433 521	653 226	2 561 421
Divorced	121 740	152 961	57 960	99 656
Total	2 801 874	2 600 940	1 042 235	3 356 485

Women of over 50 who are living alone appear to vote Conservative and 'Christian' to a very much greater degree than men. The French reporter takes the view that they thus play quite an important part

in determining the general bias of the women's vote. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the high proportion of non-voters among them, over the age of 60, limits their influence on elections. In Germany, incidentally, since 1945, there has been a large proportion of younger women 'on their own', and it is in that country that there is the greatest difference in the number of votes cast by men and women for the Christian parties (this difference, however, is smaller than it was in 1920-33. Perhaps the change has something to do with the explanation suggested above?).

Only if more selective analyses were made, could we determine the differences in election behaviour between the sexes and explain them more satisfactorily. Certain investigations carried out at Vienne (Isère) in France suggest that the difference in men's and women's votes for the MRP is larger in working-class than in middle-class constituencies; in the latter, it is the classic Right-wing parties which benefit by the woman's vote.

TABLE 20

Constituencies	MRP	Moderates	RPF
Blvd. M. Servet (middle-class)	138	142	92
Community Hall (mixed)	137	101	81
Rue Nicolas Cherier (working-class)	156	124	80
Rue Lafayette (working-class suburb)	143	123	68
Ave. Berthelot (working-class suburb)	143	57	57
Total for town of Vienne	141	106	80

In this connexion, the French reporter suggests that the social policy of the MRP gives it certain features characteristic of a Left-wing party, thus permitting women in working-class districts to some extent to reconcile respect for religion with belief in the need for social reform.

The Stability of the Woman's Vote

One of the working hypotheses formulated at The Hague congress related to the greater instability of the woman's vote. In point of fact, it was put forward with a great many reserves, and with the comment that it was probably the most doubtful of all the hypotheses suggested by the preliminary general examination of the question. It is not yet possible, from the results of the survey conducted in the four countries, to draw any definite conclusions on this point. We have too little evidence to work on in the shape of

separate counts of men's and women's votes over a long period. It must be mentioned at once, however, that the results tend rather to discount than to confirm the hypothesis suggested at The Hague. The woman's vote does not seem to be more unstable than the man's vote, and, in certain respects, may even be more stable. These facts have already been noted in connexion with abstentions: if the curves of abstention figures for men and women in Norway since 1901 are compared, we find that their general trend is almost identical and that the gap between them, from one year to the next, does not vary much. In general, women's abstention figures vary a little more, but only very little.

German statistics for the cases where separate counts have been taken show that the differences between the numbers of men's and women's votes cast for any one party, from one election to another, are generally more or less the same. The variations observed are usually too small to be really significant, and where they are most marked, they even seem to suggest that the woman's vote is the more stable. Under the Weimar Republic, the phenomenon can be seen fairly clearly as regards the Socialist party in Bavaria and Cologne particularly. In Bavaria, there was less increase in the number of women's votes between the Reichstag elections of 1924 and 1928 (+5.8 as against +12.1 for men) but less decrease between 1928 and 1930 (—4.6 as against —7.5). The same thing happened at Cologne between the two elections in 1924 (+5.9 as against +8.9) and between 1928 and 1930 (—3.3 as against — 7.2); between 1928 and 1930, the difference was much the same for both sexes. The same phenomenon sometimes occurs in the case of the Communist Party. It thus appears that the woman's vote is more stable in the parties which benefit least from it, which suggests that the minority of women voting for them are more firmly entrenched in their political beliefs than the majority (this greater cohesion among minorities seems, incidentally, to be more or less general, and in no way peculiar to the female sex).

Certain French investigations corroborate this view. Unfortunately their range is very limited, since they are based on the results of only two elections, one parliamentary and the other municipal. In principle, no comparison ought to be made in such a case, for the behaviour of voters in the two kinds of elections is usually different. The results must therefore be considered merely as indicative and as suggesting the desirability of more detailed research. In this case, there is a fundamental difference between the Communist Party (the least supported by women) and the MRP (the most supported). In the working-class districts, where the Communist Party is most powerful, the Communist woman's vote is very slightly less stable than the man's vote. On the other hand, female support for the

MRP is much more stable. The reverse is true in middle-class districts.

TABLE 21

Elections	Communist Party				MRP			
	Middle-class districts		Working-class districts		Middle-class districts		Working-class districts	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Parliamentary election (Nov. 1946)	25.7	20.5	43.2	37.1	32.4	42.9	21.1	29.1
Municipal elections (Oct. 1947)	11.7	16.1	38.9	31.3	30.7	32.2	15	23.6
Difference	— 14	— 4.4	— 4.3	— 5.8	— 1.7	— 10.7	— 6.1	— 5.5

At first sight, this seems to confirm the idea that minorities are more closely knit and more stable. But there is another very important fact to be noted. From 1946 to 1947 election support for both the Communists and the MRP declined. The authors of the monograph on Vienne (Isère), from which the figures quoted here were taken for the French report, think that the greater stability of the woman's vote which they suggest, may be less the result of true allegiance to a political party than of a tendency to persevere longer in an opinion once accepted. The difference would thus be less one of size than one of time; in other words, women are slower than men to change their minds. It is suggested that, being less familiar with the political machinery and the subtleties of party politics, they have a less sharply developed sense of what is timely. This is an interesting hypothesis and merits close investigation. The German statistics quoted above hardly appear to support it, but the material available is too general and too scanty to make definite conclusions possible.

A distinction should also, in all probability, be made between normal fluctuations in the number of votes, for both sexes, obtained by the established parties and sharp switches of opinion, bursts of intense feeling which sometimes spread through the electorate, driving voters *en masse* to support a new party, although there may afterwards be as strong a swing in the other direction. It is not always easy to make this distinction, but it is probably worth further study. It would be interesting to see whether the variations in the woman's vote in such crises of public opinion in any country are greater than those in the man's vote. The first impulse is to say that

they are, but we must beware of first impulses. In point of fact, neither in France at the time of the rise of the MRP in 1945 and 1946 or that of the RPF in 1951, nor in Germany at the time of the rise of the National Socialists between 1930 and 1933, is there any indication that women were more affected by this political fever than men. Sometimes, indeed, they appear to react to it less, as we shall see.

Sensitivity to Personalities

Certain public opinion surveys conducted by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research suggest that women's votes are a little more affected than men's by the personality of candidates. The answers to the following question posed by the institute in June 1943: 'When you vote, are you influenced more by the personality of the candidates appearing on the list, or by the programme of the party to which these candidates belong?' were distributed as in Table 22.

TABLE 22

Answer	Men	Women
	%	%
Personality	32	39
Programme	51	41
Both	6	3
No answer	11	17

There is quite a large difference between the figures for the two sexes. It is interesting to see, however, that the proportion of women who vote for the programme is higher than that of those who vote for the man. In other fairly representative surveys conducted by the institute, the difference was bigger. On 10 November 1946, for example, the answers to the question: 'If de Gaulle recommends voting "no" in the referendum, how will you vote?' as compared with the voting if de Gaulle said nothing, were as in Table 23.

Moreover, according to a public opinion survey made on 15 May 1947, 25 per cent of the men and 33 per cent of the women hoped that General de Gaulle would return to power and 59 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women were against him. The results of these surveys seem to be confirmed by the distribution of votes in those elections where separate counts were kept. The French reporter has analysed in some detail the fluctuations in the votes of both women and men at the elections of 21 October 1945, 2 June 1946 and 10 November 1946 in Belfort. A very prominent

politician, belonging to the Radical party, appeared on a joint Left-wing list (Union des Gauches—including the Communist party) at the elections of 21 October 1945 and 10 November 1946, while at that of 2 June 1946, his name figured on a purely Radical list. More

TABLE 23

Answer	If de Gaulle advises to vote 'no'		In the absence of advice from de Gaulle	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
	%	%	%	%
Yes	35	24	67	63
No	23	33	33	37
No answer	42	43	—	—

than half those who voted for the joint Union des Gauches list in 1945 followed this Radical politician and voted for the Radical list in June 1946, again voting for the joint list when he returned to it in November 1946. In this half, however, there was a slightly higher proportion of women. The national reporter considers this particularly significant, as the Radicals usually poll far less women's than men's votes, while in this case the opposite was the case. The differences, however, are too small for any definite conclusions to be drawn.

The question of the particular sensitivity of woman voters to personalities, however, is very close to that of their attitude towards parties favouring dictatorship. These two questions are, of course, quite distinct. Democratic parties also have their leaders and personalities often play an important part. Nevertheless, in one respect, the placing of the individual before the doctrine, of the man before the party, is a characteristic feature of the non-democratic parties. The question whether women favour these parties, as they sometimes seem to favour personalities, has been the subject of much argument. *A priori* prejudices have often led to an affirmative conclusion. But in point of fact, examination of the facts does not support this opinion. The German report very rightly emphasizes that the figures for all the elections where separate counts were kept up to 1933 show that fewer women than men voted for the National Socialist party. The story, so frequently spread abroad, that the success of the National Socialists was due to the woman's vote does not seem to be borne out.[1]

1. The difference in the votes cast for the National Socialist party by men and women seems to have lessened from 1930 to 1933. At Cologne, for example, it fell from 4.3 to 1 per cent. This seems to support the theory that there is a time lag between the shift in the man's and the woman's vote, and that women 'come round' later.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WOMEN'S VOTE

This study of women's voting seems to lead to the conclusion that the woman's vote brings about no great change in the situation existing before the grant of woman's suffrage. Upon the whole, women vote much as men do. Their entry into the electoral arena has not fundamentally altered the relative strength of the parties. From this, it is but a step to the conclusion that the woman's vote has no political influence whatever, but we shall certainly not take that step.

Two very important facts must be emphasized.

Firstly, the entry of women into the political struggle has had a far-reaching influence on the policies of the parties and the bias of their propaganda. They have been at pains to win over this great company of new voters who might help them to victory. Their propaganda for this purpose may often have been clumsy, in that it has either not taken sufficient account of the shortcomings of women's political education, or, on the other hand, has tended to shut them into a too 'feminine' world. All the same, this propaganda is important and, moreover, it seems to develop as women come to play a greater part in elections. In Norway, for example, it is more active than in the other countries where woman's suffrage has been introduced more recently. Because they vote, because they must be reckoned with electorally, women receive attention from the political parties. In this way, an indirect influence on political life may develop, difficult to measure but probably considerable. Viewed from this angle, the large similarity in the distribution of men's and women's votes among the different parties has little importance, being purely formal. It is the subject matter of political struggles, the points on which the two parties come into conflict, which have changed as a result of the influence of woman's suffrage. Naturally, we must not exaggerate the extent of this change, but it is impossible to deny it.

In the second place, the difference in the strength of the political parties is often very small, so that a slight shift of votes is enough to give the majority to one or the other. In certain circumstances, women may thus really be the arbiters in deciding the government. The French reporter quotes a very important case—the French referendum of May 1946, in which the April draft constitution was rejected by a very narrow majority. Everyone agrees that this was a political act of the greatest importance, marking the beginning of a new trend, and a departure from the alliance of the Left policy followed since 1944. Here it seems that the woman's vote had a very decisive influence. In fact, according to an IFOP survey of June 1946, 62 per cent of women voted against the draft and only

36 per cent in favour. It therefore appears that the women brought about the rejection of the proposed new French constitution and, moreover, for religious rather than political reasons (the absence of guarantees regarding the facilities for private schools). In the same way, seeing that British women vote Conservative to a greater extent than the men, it may be wondered whether the government elected in 1951 was not brought into power by the woman's vote, and whether women are not destined to play a great part in future elections because of the very small difference in the strength of the two parties.

The influence of women would thus be greater under a simple majority system than under a proportional representation system, since marginal seats are more important in the former than in the latter. Nevertheless, under proportional representation, the formation of coalitions with a sufficient majority to govern often depends on a few parliamentary seats, and, in certain circumstances, these may depend on the woman's vote. The case is not uncommon, since the Christian Democratic parties sometimes play an important part in such majorities, and they derive much of their support from the votes of women. To summarize, the influence of women in elections is often much greater than appears at first sight. But it varies greatly in different circumstances, and, in particular, is much affected by the margin of difference in the strength of the various political parties.

Chapter II

THE PART PLAYED BY WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The term 'political leadership' is not here used in a legal sense, denoting the authorities (parliament, government, etc.) established by the constitution and organic laws, but in a sociological one. It is to be taken as covering all people and groups who, in any given country, at any given time, have a *de jure* or *de facto* share in the exercise of authority, and play a part in determining decisions. From this angle the basis of political life is the fact that in each social group, in each human community, there is a body of 'leaders', of 'governers' who control the group, and direct the community. Political life consists in the activities of these governors, their recruitment, their rivalries, their prerogatives over those governed, and the ideas of the community thereon. The elections we have just been studying are the means of choosing those of the political leaders who, in classic democratic theory, are considered to be most important, the members of parliament, the representatives of the people.

To take part in political life is to take part in the activities of this political leadership either indirectly (by voting in elections, bringing the pressure of public opinion to bear on the leaders, etc.), or directly. It is the direct part played by women in political leadership that will be discussed in this chapter. We shall try to discover, firstly, what proportion of women have a share in political leadership and, secondly, what influence the women members exercise (an influence which is not necessarily proportional to their numbers). We shall make a distinction between two basic parts of political leadership: (a) official public authorities (members of parliament, ministers, high-ranking civil servants, local administrators, etc.) and (b) *de facto* authorities, those which we may call 'private forces' (political parties, pressure groups, etc.).

One general feature of women's direct part in political leadership stands out—its extreme smallness. While, in elections, the proportion of women voting is smaller than that of the men, the gap between the two is very narrow and the equality of the sexes may be

regarded as practically achieved. On the other hand, the proportion of women playing a real part in political leadership is ridiculously small. In the overwhelming majority of cases, men continue to be elected as ministers, members of parliament, high-ranking civil servants, leaders of political parties and of most pressure groups. There are hardly any women in the bodies which take political decisions and direct the State. They are able to exert only indirect pressure on them, either through the elections or through certain special pressure groups, such as women's associations. In this matter, then, the equality of the sexes has certainly not been achieved, and indeed, great inequality still exists.

WOMEN IN POLITICAL ASSEMBLIES, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE

The number of women who are members of political and administrative assemblies (parliament, local assemblies, municipal councils), of the government and of the higher civil service, is extremely small. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the four countries investigated; it appears to be absolutely general, except in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (where 17 per cent of the members of the Supreme Soviet are women). It is rare that the proportion of women in parliament is higher than 5 per cent and the figure for local bodies is even smaller. The position is no better in the traditionally 'feminist' countries and, indeed, appears worse in some of them. It is curious to find, for example, that the United States of America has one of the lowest percentages of women members of parliament, i.e. 2 per cent. This situation does not seem to be improving. On the contrary, there seems to be a tendency almost everywhere towards stabilization of the proportion of women in political and administrative life, and perhaps even towards regression.

(As far as governments and the higher civil service are concerned, it is not even possible to give percentages, as the number of women admitted is so small that they can only be regarded as special cases, which cannot be expressed in statistics.)

What is the reason for this extremely small female representation? The question is difficult to answer as it cannot be considered apart from the whole problem of the shortcomings of women's political integration which will be taken up in the third part of this chapter. Attention must, however, be drawn to one point. This is that the cause is not solely the hostility of the electorate towards women

(assuming that it exists). The small number of woman candidates is a fundamental factor in the problem. If few women are elected, it is primarily due to the fact that few stand as candidates. We must therefore begin by considering the problem of women candidates.

WOMEN CANDIDATES

In both local and general elections, there are always very few women candidates. There are many differences, however, in different countries and regions and, in particular, the different political parties. There are signs, too, of a tendency for the number of women candidates to increase.

The Small Number of Candidates

The highest figures at the present time are for Norway, where 16 per cent of the candidates for the 1949 parliamentary elections were women, France follows, with 9 per cent for the 1951 elections to the National Assembly (there were 13 per cent for the 1946 elections). Germany is close behind with 8.5 per cent for the 1953 Bundestag elections and 8.9 per cent for those of 1949. No information about Yugoslavia is available. For local elections, the figures seem even lower, although here there are very wide differences between towns and rural districts. In the German Federal Republic, for example, the proportion of women candidates for the Land elections varies between 4 and 9 per cent of the total in different regions, but in the great cities having Land status, the proportion is as high as 12 to 16 per cent. Local variations are very large; there are very few women candidates in Bavaria, while the highest numbers are found in Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin.

What is the reason for the small number of women candidates? Many active women members and leaders of political parties think that it is due to deliberate discrimination on the part of the men who lead the parties, and who wield a decisive influence in the choice of candidates. This view has often been expressed in Germany, both under the Weimar Republic and today; it has led to attempts by women to form their own political parties, as we shall see below. It is also found in France and Norway. In Yugoslavia, several official statements at Communist Party congresses, coming from the men party leaders themselves, mention a lack of understanding on the part of men with regard to the accession of women to leading positions. However, there are differences of opinion among women party leaders themselves on this subject. In France, for example, while those belonging to the Mouvement Républicain

Populaire (MRP), the Radical Party, the Rassemblement des Gauches and the Rassemblement du Peuple Français share this view, the active Communist and Socialist women members assert that there is no discrimination.

For their part, the men leading the parties take the latter view. They say that the small number of women candidates is due to a shortage of women qualified to stand as candidates, on the one hand, and to the resistance of the electorate on the other. We shall have occasion to consider this second argument more closely at a later stage. The first is certainly well founded, but is it enough to explain the whole phenomenon? That seems less sure. Competition within the parties is always very keen when it comes to the nomination of candidates; to nominate a woman is to deprive a man of a place. It is quite probable that the old anti-feminist reactions play a part here—just as they come into play on the labour market whenever there is a threat of unemployment. As the French reporter notes, there is probably no general conspiracy among men to bar women from political careers. But, taking advantage of their leading positions within the parties, men tend to reserve nominations to themselves for purely competitive reasons without being anti-feminist in principle. The fact that some nominations are made by democratic procedures does not seem to be an obstacle to such manoeuvres, firstly, because women constitute a very small minority of party membership and, secondly, because, in most cases, these democratic procedures are only a façade behind which the nominations (in the American sense of the word) are made by the oligarchy of party leaders.

Differences in the Numbers of Candidates

We have already noted some differences in the numbers of candidates. The difference from country to country is considerable, Norway at present having nearly twice as many women candidates in general elections as France or Germany. There also seems to be some difference between general and local elections, the number of women candidates being greater for the former than for the latter, but we must be very cautious in this regard as we have only scanty evidence. Similarly, the German statistics seem to be corroborated by some of the evidence in the French and Norwegian reports, so far as the difference between urban and rural constituencies is concerned. Similar phenomena appear to be found in Yugoslavia. They check with what we noted earlier as regards the higher proportion of women non-voters in the country districts.

But there are three new aspects of the problem which merit closer study, the variation in the number of women candidates under dif-

ferent electoral systems, through time, and in different political parties.

One of the working hypotheses suggested at The Hague congress was that the 'party ticket' system, and proportional representation in particular, seemed to make it easier for women to get into elected assemblies, while the 'single member' system did not. This may be taken in two ways, meaning either that the two electoral systems have different effects on the number of women candidates, or that they affect women's chances of success differently. We shall concentrate mainly on the first point of view here and return to the second later. But the two are obviously very closely linked, for the parties choose their candidates with an eye to their chances of success. The national reporters who have examined this problem are rather cautious in their conclusions, the most downright being the French reporter, who reproduces the opinions expressed by the women members of parliament and leaders of parties whom he questioned. Should the system of single-member constituencies be reintroduced into France for parliamentary elections, hardly any women would be likely to be elected, and therefore to be nominated as candidates. In fact, the proportion of women candidates for, and of women elected to the Conseils Généraux (single-member ballot) is extremely small (0.5 per cent of women elected). In the same way, the proportion of women candidates for municipal elections, in communes with a simple majority ballot, seems to be smaller than in those where proportional representation is applied. As, however, this distinction practically coincides with that between rural and urban communes, it is difficult to determine the effect of each of these two factors. The Norwegian reporter considers that the number of women candidates is higher in large than in small constituencies, but he is thinking rather of the difference between town and country than of that in the electoral system.

This problem was discussed in greatest detail by the German reporter. She states that under the Weimar Republic, women at first thought that proportional representation offered them the best chance of being accepted as candidates, but that opinions changed because of the tendency of the political parties to put fewer women on their lists. The question was reopened under the Bonn Republic, where the whole electoral problem has been the subject of much discussion. Many people think, in general, that proportional representation gives women a better chance. The main argument is that although there are a large number of women party members who are perfectly well qualified for the political duties of the assemblies, very few are capable of conducting the political agitation and mass meetings necessary on the part of a candidate standing in a single-member constituency. The Deutsche Wählergesellschaft, however,

an influential association which favours the simple majority ballot, does not agree that this theory is borne out by the facts and maintains that in the 1949 elections for single members, women had the same chances as men and indeed even better chances. While it is difficult to decide an argument of this nature, in which preference for a particular electoral system always plays a great part, one fundamental fact ought, nevertheless, to be noted. At the federal elections in 1953, each voter had two votes, one for a single-member, and the other for a proportional election ('Land list'). It was thus possible to compare the results of the two systems. It is immediately clear that the proportion of women candidates on the Land lists is much higher (11 per cent) than for the single-member districts (4.6 per cent). This holds good for all parties as will be seen from Table 24.

At the same time, this particular single-member election cannot be considered as a true example of its kind, since the voters knew that the results would be 'corrected' by the proportional distribution of the Land seats. The risk of a party's losing a seat was therefore much smaller, since the loss would be partially off-set by that redistribution. It may therefore be assumed that there would be still less women candidates in a true single-member election, and that the hypothesis suggested at The Hague corresponds to the facts. Moreover, it is a striking fact that the smallest number of women candidates is to be found in those countries where the single-member constituency is the rule (Great Britain and the United States of America).

Is there a tendency for the number of women candidates to rise or to fall? To give a general answer to this question is very difficult. There has been a distinct and considerable increase in Norway. In 1921, women candidates represented only 4 per cent of the total for the general elections; in 1927 the proportion had increased to 5 per cent; in 1930 it had gone beyond 6 per cent; in 1936 it was nearly 10 per cent; in 1945, 13 per cent; and in 1953 it reached 18 per cent. On the other hand, no similar increase was noted under the Weimar Republic, and many women indeed complained that the number of women candidates remained stationary or declined. Under the Bonn Republic, the proportion of women candidates did not rise between 1949 and 1953, and even fell slightly for the federal elections, but this may, perhaps, be because the electoral reforms carried out have increased the importance of the single-member ballot, which is less favourable to women. In some local elections, at Brunswick, Bremen and Berlin, for example, a fairly definite decline may be observed, but the phenomenon is not general. In France, there was a very marked decline between 1946 and 1951, the proportion of women candidates falling from 13 to 9 per cent.

TABLE 24. Elections for the Federal Parliament. Proportion of women to total number of delegates in single member districts and on party lists according to political parties

Party[1]	Elections 1953												Elections 1949. Total			
	Land lists				Single member districts				Total							
	Total	Women	%	Rank	Total	Women	%	Rank	Total	Women	%	Rank	Total	Women	%	Rank
CDU	302	47	15.6	2	177	9	5.1	4	479	56	11.7	2	361	38	10.5	3
CSU	39	4	10.3	6	44	1	2.3	8	83	5	6.0	8	66	5	7.6	6
SPD	376	49	13.0	4	242	12	5.0	5	618	61	9.9	4	383	52	13.5	1
FDP/DVP	259	28	10.8	5	224	6	2.7	7	483	34	7.0	6	326	22	6.7	7
KPD	270	37	13.7	3	242	15	6.2	3	512	52	10.2	3	334	37	11.0	2
DP	193	11	5.7	10	196	2	1.0	—	389	13	3.5	10	80	4	5.0	—
BHE	199	17	8.5	9	237	5	2.1	—	436	22	5.1	9	—	—	—	—
GVP	211	35	16.6	1	230	22	9.6	1	441	57	12.9	1	—	—	—	—
DRP	75	7	9.3	8	59	2	3.4	6	134	9	6.7	7	130	13	10.0	4
DNS	73	7	9.6	7	79	6	7.6	2	152	13	8.6	5	—	—	—	—
BP	32	1	3.1	—	34	1	2.9	—	66	2	3.0	—	55	1	1.8	—
DZP	40	3	7.5	—	1	—	—	—	41	3	7.3	—	151	11	9.1	5
Others	20	—	—	—	29	2	—		49	2	—	—	452	24	5.3	—
Total	2 089	246	11.8		1 794	83	4.6		3 883	329	8.5		2 338	207	8.9	

1. CDU/CSU = Christlich-Demokratische Union/Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Democrats).
SPD = Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands (German Socialist Party).
FDP/DVP = Freie Demokratische Partei/Demokratische Volkspartei (Democratic Party and People's Party).
KPD = Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party).
DP = Deutche Partei (German Party).
BHE = Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten (Federation of Refugees).
GVP = Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei (United German People's Party).
DRP = Deutsche Reichspartei (German Reich Party Right wing).
DNS = Deutsch-Nationale (German National Party).
BP = Bayern-Partei (Bavarian Party).
DZP = Deutsche Zentrumspartei (German Centre Party).

It is therefore impossible to draw any general conclusion. Sometimes, after a sharp rise in the number of women candidates at the first election following the granting of woman's suffrage (in France after 1945 and in Germany after 1919), there is a drop and the proportion becomes more or less stabilized. This stabilization is perhaps only a passing phase and will be followed later by a slow increase in the number of women candidates. For it must not be forgotten that in Norway, where the proportion today is very high, it was only 4 per cent in 1921, when women had already had the vote for 20 years.

In fact, the biggest and most important variation in the number of women candidates is related to the nature of the political parties concerned. Two groups of parties appear to give women candidates a better chance, the parties of the Left (Communists and Socialists) and the Christian parties. In France, the Communist Party has a clear lead in this respect. On 100 lists submitted by it for the 1946 parliamentary elections, there were 107 women, or more than one per list. (The Mouvement Républicain Populaire, which came second, included only 72 women on 100 lists.) For the 1951 elections, in spite of the general decline in the number of women candidates, there were still 95 women per 100 lists of the Communist Party, while only 45 appeared on MRP lists. In the German Federal Republic, at the federal elections in 1953, there were 57 Communist women candidates, as against 61 SPD and 61 CDU. In proportion to the total number of candidates for each party, the Communists were in the lead. They sometimes fall behind the SPD or the CDU, however, in the elections for the legislative assemblies of the Länder as Table 25 shows.

If we now compare the number of women candidates for the Chris-

TABLE 25. Percentage of women candidates, in relation to the total number of candidates put up by the various political parties for five regional assemblies

Party	Bavaria 1950	Schleswig-Holstein 1950	Rhineland Palatinate 1950	Lower Saxony 1951	North Rhine-Westphalia 1950
	%	%	%	%	%
CDU/CSU	3.4	6.7	5.4	0.9	12.9
FDP	8.6	5.3	3.1	2.1	5.6
SPD	7.2	9.5	12.0	4.2	7.0
KPD	6.1	11.2	9.9	5.3	13.5
Others	4.4	6.6	1.0	4.6	5.8
Total	5.2	8.1	5.5	4.0	8.3

tian Democratic and Socialist parties in France and Germany, we find that the ratios in the two countries differ a little. In France, the MRP puts up many more women candidates than the Socialists, and is a clear second after the Communists. In 1946, it put up 72 women in 100 elections lists, as against the 58 on 100 Socialist lists; in 1951, there were 45 women candidates on 100 MRP lists as against 32 on 100 Socialist lists.

In Western Germany, on the other hand, the figures for the two parties are very close. Both put up 61 women candidates at the federal elections in 1953. As can be seen from the above table, however, women candidates are more favoured by the SPD in local elections. In any event, there is a distinct difference as compared with the French Socialist Party. This difference emerges even more clearly if we compare the figures for Centre and Right-wing Parties other than the Christian Democrats, with those for the Socialist Parties. In Germany the distinction is clear-cut; they put up far fewer women candidates than the SPD (apart from the Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei; but this group, founded by Helene Wessel, was promised the support of the Partei der Frauen, a small women's party, on condition that it would put up a large proportion of women candidates, so that it is a very special case. In France, on the other hand, the Rassemblement des Gauches Rèpublicaines (Radicals and associated groups) put up more women candidates than the Socialists in both 1946 and 1951, 33 per 100 lists in 1951 and 67 per 100 in 1948. Perhaps the reason for this is that, whereas the German Socialist Party has to contend with only a very small and weak Communist Party and has therefore remained a left-wing party strongly based on working-class support, the French Socialist Party has been driven towards the right by a powerful Communist Party which has taken away from it much of its working-class support; it has therefore lost the features of a left-wing, proletarian party.

Although the German Socialist and Christian Democratic Parties put up roughly the same number of women candidates, there is a considerable difference between them as regards the age of the candidates, and a smaller difference as regards their occupational status. The Socialist women candidates are younger than Christian Democrats; there are more housewives on the Socialist lists, more party or trade union officials, and fewer civil servants than in the Christian Democrats Party. In this connexion, it is interesting to see Tables 26 and 27, taken from the German report.

TABLE 26. Female candidates for the Federal Parliament according to party membership and age groups

Party[1]	Age groups							
	25-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-65	65-70	70+	Total
CDU/CSU	—	5	15	29	8	3	1	61
SPD	—	9	26	25	1	—	—	61
FDP/DVP	—	7	6	15	4	1	1	34
KPD	5	15	27	5	—	—	—	52
DP	—	2	4	4	2	—	1	13
BHE	—	6	5	11	—	—	—	22
GVP	2	10	24	11	4	2	4	57
DRP	—	2	3	2	—	1	1	9
DNS	1	2	3	7	—	—	—	13
BP	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
DZP	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	3
Others	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total	9	59	116	110	19	8	8	329

1. See Table 24 for significance of abreviations.

THE ELECTED CANDIDATES

When we consider the number of women elected to parliaments, local assemblies, municipal councils, etc., we are immediately struck, as we were when considering the number of candidates, by the smallness of the figure. We also find that the social and occupational categories, and the age-groups to which the elected women belong, are not very representative of the female population as a whole (but similar comments might be made about the men elected in comparison with the male population). Finally, it is interesting to compare the activities of women representatives with those of their male colleagues.

The Small Number of Women Elected

In France, 3.5 per cent of the members of the National Assembly elected in 1951 were women, as against 6.0 per cent of the National Assembly elected in 1946, 4.7 per cent of the second Constituent Assembly and 5.4 per cent of the first. There were 22 women in the Council of the Republic in 1946, 13 in 1948, and 9 in 1952 (less than 3 per cent). About 3 per cent of the members of municipal councils are women (but the proportion is higher in the large cities). Finally, in the Conseils Généraux (departmental councils)

TABLE 27. Female candidates according to occupational status and political parties[1]

Occupation	Number of candidates[2]											
	CDU	SPD	FDP	BHE	DP	KPD	GVP	DRP	DNS	DZP	BP	Others
Housewives	28(1)	34(5)	20(3)	13(2)	8	26(4)	19(5)	4(1)	9(3)	3	2(1)	—
Not gainfully employed	—	—	—	5(1)	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Physicians	6(1)	2(1)	—	—	—	1	—	—	2(1)	—	—	1
Lawyers	2	1	4(1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other professions	4	4(1)	—	—	—	—	6(2)	—	—	—	—	—
Government and other administr. officials and employees	8(1)	3	—	2	—	—	2(1)	—	—	—	—	—
Officials of political parties, trade unions and organizations	2	7(2)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Social and welfare workers	2	3(1)	—	1	1	1	7(3)	2	—	—	—	—
Teachers	3	1	3	—	—	2(1)	12(4)	1	—	—	—	—
University lecturers	—	—	—	—	—	—	2(1)	—	—	—	—	—
Independent merchants and craftsmen	1	—	—	1	1	2(1)	3	—	—	—	—	—
Commercial employees	5(1)	6(1)	6(1)	—	2	16(2)	3	2	1	—	—	1
Labourers	—	—	—	—	—	4	2(1)	—	1	—	—	—
Total	61(4)	61(11)	34(5)	22(3)	13	52(8)	57(17)	9(1)	13(4)	3	2(1)	2

1. See Table 24.
2. Figures in brackets indicate the number of women listed twice, once as candidates of single member districts and once on the land lists of the parties, so that the total figures indicate the distribution of candidatures but not of individual candidates.

the proportion of women is barely 0.5 per cent. It is only in the Assemblée de l'Union Française that the proportion of women comes as high as 10 per cent of the Metropolitan representatives. But this body, whose members are appointed by the National Assembly, is to some extent, a sort of refuge to which people beaten in the elections, or those whom the parties do not wish to put up for election, are relegated. The exceptionally large proportion of women to be found there is perhaps explained by the desire of party leaders to keep women out of important elective posts. But it is not possible to reach any conclusion, in view of the small total number of women members.

In Norway, the number of women members of the Storting is lower than 5 per cent but on the other hand, the number of deputies is nearly 19 per cent. Is the reason the same as that just suggested in connexion with the Assemblée de l'Union Française? Are not efforts being made to keep women out of important elective posts, by giving them honorary positions without real powers? It is difficult to say with certainty, but the phenomenon is curious. In the municipal councils, 6 per cent of the members are women. There is a very great difference between town and country districts; in the former, the proportion of women is as high as 13.5 per cent while in the latter it stands at 4 per cent, and, even so, has gone up markedly since 1937, before which time it was less than 2 per cent.

In Germany, under the Weimar Republic, the proportion of women in the Constituent Assembly was 9.6 per cent. It fell to 8 per cent in the 1920 Reichstag and to 5.7 per cent in the May 1924 Reichstag. After this, it rose slightly and became stabilized between 6.6 and 7 per cent. In the local Landtag, the proportion varied widely from district to district. In Prussia, for example, it remained in the region of 9 per cent from 1921 to 1930, while in Saxony it fluctuated between 5 and 7 per cent. Under the Bonn Republic, there were 9 per cent of women in the Bundestag in 1949 and 9.2 per cent in 1953, a constant and remarkably high percentage. In the legislative bodies of the Länder, the proportion of women rose from 7.4 per cent in 1950 to 8.2 per cent in 1951, for the country, as a whole, but there are wide local variations. Bavaria is at the bottom of the list with 3.4 per cent and Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg at the top, with 17.3 per cent, 16 per cent and 14.3 per cent respectively. In the municipal assemblies, the average proportion of women in 1951 was 9.9 per cent, but there were very great differences, ranging from 0 per cent to 22 per cent (Berlin). It will be noted that, on the whole, the proportion of women elected in Germany is a little higher than it is in Norway or France.

In Yugoslavia, where the electoral situation is different because of the one-party system, the figures hardly differ from those given

for the other three countries. In 1945, there were very few women in the two federal assemblies, less than 3 per cent in the Federal Council and 7 per cent in the Council of Nationalities. The 1949 elections showed a decrease for the former (2.7 per cent) but an increase for the latter (8.8 per cent). The proportion of women elected to the local people's committees varied from 5.75 per cent to 14.05 per cent in 1949-50, according to district, reaching its maximum in Montenegro and Slovenia. In 1952, the local differences remained more or less unchanged but the proportion of women fell considerably, ranging from 1.36 per cent to 4.53 per cent. At the 1949-50 elections, the voting was on the ticket system, while in 1952 the elections were for single members. This again corroborates our foregoing observation that the latter system is a greater obstacle to the election of women. There are, of course, as everywhere, wide local variations; far more women are elected to the people's committees in the towns, the proportion being as high as 11 per cent in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Titograd, for example, and 22.8 per cent in Ljubljana. In the councils of producers, elected for the first time in 1952, the proportion of women varies between 1.5 per cent and 8 per cent, Slovenia and Montenegro still being at the top of the list and the proportion in the towns higher than elsewhere.

What is the reason for the small number of women members of elective assemblies? Primarily, as has been observed, it is due to the small number of candidates; few women are elected because few women stand for election. But this is not the only reason. It is more or less generally found that the proportion of candidates is higher than the proportion of women elected, which suggests that women's chances of election are less than men's. In Norway, for example, the difference between the percentages of candidates standing and elected to the Storting has been between 8 and 10 per cent since 1936. In 1949, there were 16 per cent of women candidates and less than 5 per cent of women elected. Table 28 shows the proportion of successful candidates (as percentages of the number who stood) at the elections to the French National Assembly in 1946.

TABLE 28

	Communists	MRP	Socialists
	%	%	%
Men	33	32	18
Women	19	12	4

In Germany, the difference appears to be smaller. An examination of the total figures for all parties reveals that the chances of election to the Bundestag in 1953 were 13.8 per cent for men and 10.8 per cent for women candidates in the constituencies returning a single member, and 11.4 per cent for men and 12.6 per cent for women candidates appearing on the Land lists. There is, however, a marked difference between the parties, for in the case of the Socialists women had a better chance of election than men, while in that of the Christian Democrats, the opposite was the case.

TABLE 29. Bundestag elections, 1953: the comparative success of men and women candidates in single-member constituencies

	CDU/CSU[1]			SPD[2]		
	Candidates	Elected	Per cent	Candidates	Elected	Per cent
Total	221	172	77.8	242	45	18.6
Men	211	166	78.7	230	42	18.3
Women	10	6	60	12	3	25

1. 'Handicap' of women, 0.76.
2. 'Handicap' of women, 1.37.

What is the reason for these differences? Must we assume that while, in France and Norway, the electorate prefers to vote for men, this preference is less noticeable in Germany? Before doing so, we must look into another possible explanation namely that the differences in the election chances of men and women depend mainly on the way in which the parties have arranged women's nominations. In a 'ticket' ballot, the position on the list is of prime importance, for if it is a block list, it will decide success or defeat, while if a preferential vote is allowed, experience has shown that the order submitted by the party is rarely modified. In the system of single-member constituencies, a distinction is made between safe seats, doubtful seats and seats lost in advance. If the names of women candidates are placed at the bottom of the list, or if women are put up only in constituencies in the third group, they may be said to be 'pseudo' candidates, with no real chance of success. This is very often the case. In France, it is unusual for a woman candidate to be put up for a safe or doubtful seat, in single-member elections, and the same is true in Great Britain. As regards the order of the list, the French reporter has carried out a fairly detailed survey, the results of which are summed up in Table 30 (for four major parties: RGR, MRP, Socialists, Communists).

The proportion of women in good or bad positions on the list

TABLE 30

Year	No. of lists	No. of women candidates	No. of women placed 1st or 2nd on lists
1946	365	284	50
1951	353	191	38

varies greatly from party to party. In the 1946 elections, the percentage of women placed first or second on the lists (in proportion to the number of women candidates) was 25 per cent for the Communist Party and 11 per cent for the MRP. The corresponding percentages for men were 38 and 37 per cent. These figures should be compared with those showing the differences in women's chances of election as between the German Christian Democrats and Socialists. They indicate that left-wing parties are doing more to 'bring women forward' than the Christian Democratic parties (Table 31).

Does this mean that the distrust of voters for women candidates

TABLE 31. Bundestag elections, 1953: relative position of women candidates on the parties' local lists

Place	Party[1]	Position index	Place	Party[1]	Position index
1	KPD	0.22	6	GB/BHE	0.47
2	SPD	0.24	7	DZP	0.48
3	CDU/CSU	0.25	8	DNS	0.50
4	GVP	0.33	9	DRP	0.75
5	BP	0.41	10	FDP	0.76

1. See Table 24.

plays no part? It is not certain. If the parties refuse to put up women candidates for doubtful seats, or to place them at the top of their lists, it is because they are afraid of losing support if they act otherwise. In Norwegian municipal elections, where 'ticket-splitting' is allowed, it has been found that the names of women candidates were more often struck out than those of men (it has even been wondered, though it cannot be proved, whether the hostility thus shown towards women candidates is not due to the women voters). It would be surprising if the weight of anti-feminist tradition, which is still so firmly entrenched in the customs of society, were not felt in this field, but it is interesting to note that it plays a much smaller part than is usually believed.

The Distribution of Successful Women Candidates

We shall merely make a few brief comments on this point. In the first place, the concentration of women representatives around two types of parties (namely, the Socialist-Communist group and the Christian Democrat group) which we have already observed in the case of women candidates, is very marked. In the Bundestag elected in 1953, 21 of the women members are Socialists and 19 Christian Democrats; only 3 belong to the FDP and 2 to the refugees' group. In the four French Assemblies elected since 1945, apart from one woman elected for a right-wing party (PRL) in 1945 and one for the Rassemblement du Peuple Français in 1951, all the women elected belong to the Communist, Socialist or Christian Democrat parties. No importance, therefore, can be attached to women candidates standing for the other parties. These features, however, are much less noticeable in the local assemblies; in the municipal councils of the large French cities, for example, the percentage of women belonging to the Rassemblement des Gauches (Radicals and associated groups) was almost equal, in 1945, to that of Socialist and Communist women, and their representation in the right-wing parties was not negligible. In 1947, the Radicals, Independents (Right) and RPF returned about the same percentage of women candidates as the Socialists (10-11 per cent), the Communists being quite clearly ahead, with 15 per cent, and the MRP still more, with 23 per cent. In Norway, while the Socialist Party almost has a monopoly of women representatives in Parliament, the Conservative Party has a higher proportion of women in the municipal councils.

While most of the women in Parliament belong either to the Socialist-Communist group or to the Christian Democrats, their distribution between the two groups is unequal. In France, the Communist Party has overwhelming superiority, as can be seen from Table 32.

TABLE 32

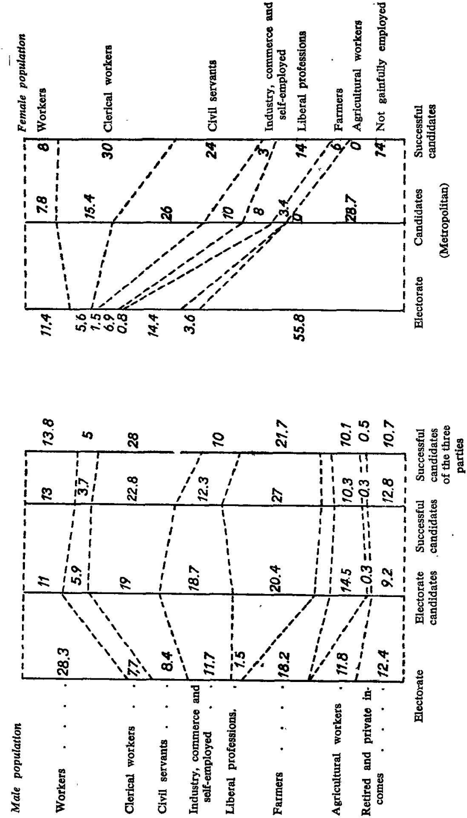
	Communist	MRP	Socialist	RGR	Right	RPF
1st Constituent Assembly (1945)	17	8	6	—	1	—
2nd Constituent Assembly (1945)	17	7	4	—	—	—
1st National Assembly (1946)	26	9	3	—	—	—
2nd National Assembly (1951)	15	3	3	—	—	1

Although there is a lesser degree of inequality in Germany, the Socialists are still slightly ahead of the Christian Democrats in this respect.

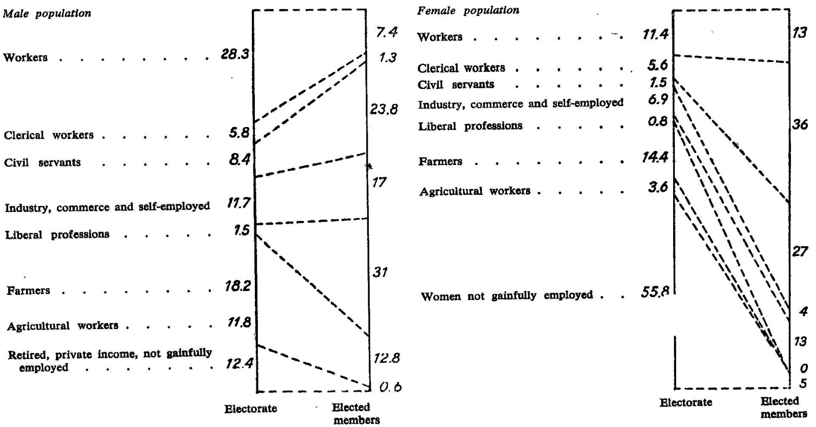
It may be wondered whether the women in these assemblies are truly representative (in the sociological meaning of the term) of the female population as a whole, in other words, whether the composition of the group of representatives (as regards age, occupation, religion, etc.) reflects that of the group of those represented. Such an investigation, however, should be made parallel with a similar one for men members. In the absence of sufficient data on this point in the national reports, we shall have to confine ourselves to certain observations concerning France alone, where the reporter made a special study of this question. Regarding occupational representation, there are certain features common to both men and women. For example, the proportion of civil servants and members of the liberal professions is much higher in parliament than in the country; 8.4 per cent of the male population are civil servants, but, in 1946, this group furnished 22 per cent of the members of parliament and, in 1951, 23.8 per cent. The corresponding figures for women civil servants are 1.5 per cent, 23 per cent, and 27 per cent. The difference in the case of the liberal professions is still greater; they represent only 1.5 per cent of the male population, but 26.9 per cent of the membership of the 1946 parliament and 31 per cent of that of 1951, the corresponding figures for women being 0.8 per cent, 3 per cent and 13 per cent. This can obviously be explained by the fact that the members of these professions have special qualifications particularly suitable for parliamentary and political life. At the other end of the scale, factory workers and, more particularly, agricultural workers, both men and women, are very poorly represented.

If we now consider the case of women separately, three main facts emerge. Firstly, the difference between the proportion of civil servants in parliament and that in the country as a whole is much greater than it is for men. Women civil servants are indeed the most likely of their sex to embark in a political career. Most of the women civil servants elected are members of the teaching profession —primary school teachers for the Socialist and Communist parties, secondary school teachers for the MRP. Secondly, while women clerical workers are well represented, men in this group are not. While 7.7 per cent of the male population are clerical workers, they accounted for 3.7 per cent of the elected members in 1946 and 1.3 per cent in 1951; the corresponding figures for women are 5.6 per cent, 31 per cent in 1946 and 36 per cent in 1951. The social position of the clerical workers, which hardly seems to fit men for political life, appears, on the contrary to be a great factor

Percentage distribution by professional categories in the country and in Parliament (France) in 1946



Percentage distribution by professional categories in the country and in Parliament (France) in 1951



in the political life of women. It should be noted too, that women workers are also better represented than men, although the proportion is smaller. Is it to be assumed that clerical employment which is regarded as rather inferior among men, since it attracts those who have no special qualifications, leading quiet and not very successful lives, has an altogether different significance for women, to whom it at least gives economic independence and a greater part in the life of the community?

A third point must also be mentioned in connexion with the two above—the very small representation of housewives and 'women in the home'. Although they make up 55 per cent of the female population, they constituted only 13 per cent of the female membership in 1946 and 4 per cent in 1951. The fact that these women have houses to look after and practical work to do, and that they also take less part in political life, explains why the great majority of women members of parliament have a profession, although the majority of women in the country are married women living at home. It seems advisable, in order to complete the picture, to reproduce the very interesting tables drawn up by the French reporter (p. 92, 93). His report also includes information about the occupational distribution of the women elected, according to political party. The figures, however, are too small to have any real significance.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that, contrary to a very widely-held opinion, the majority of women members of parliament are not unmarried; in fact, the proportion of married women in the population as a whole is quite well represented. On the other hand, the proportion of married men in parliament is much higher than in the country. Single life does not appear to incline men towards a political career. Table 33, drawn up by the French reporter, illustrates this point. The figures are for the National Assemblies of 1946 and 1951.

TABLE 33

	Men		Women		
	Adult male population	Members (1951)	Adult female population	Members (1951)	Members (1946)
	%	%	%	%	%
Married	70.5	91	60.5	68	50
Widowed	6	3	20	14	26
Divorced	1.5	0.6	1.5	9	2.6
Unmarried	22	5.5	18	9	21

There is little to be said on the subject of age-distribution. In France, the average age of women members of parliament is slightly higher than that of men in the Socialist Party, almost identical (a little lower) in the MRP, and considerably lower in the Communist Party. On the whole, the average age of French women members seems to be clearly lower than that of their German counterparts under 40, in France, at the 1946 elections, and about 40 to 45 in 1951, whereas in Germany, the average was about 50 in 1949, and 55 in 1953. Table 34 compares the ages of men and women members of the French Parliament, according to party:

TABLE 34

	Communists	Socialists	MRP
1946 Assembly			
Men	40 yrs. 7 m.	45 yrs. 4 m.	41 yrs. 9 m.
Women	30 yrs. 11 m.	49 yrs.	40 yrs. 1 m.
1951 Assembly			
Men	40 yrs. 1 m.	50 yrs. 9 m.	44 yrs. 9 m.
Women	38 yrs. 8 m.	54 yrs. 4 m.	44 yrs.

Obviously, the figures from which these averages have been calculated are too small, so far as women are concerned (especially in the case of the MRP and the Socialists) to be really significant.

The Part Played by Women in the Assemblies

Three essential features stand out: (a) women very seldom appear in the role of political leaders; (b) women speak less than men in parliamentary debates; (c) the work of women in parliament is concerned with certain clearly bounded fields, such as health, the family, children, women's rights, etc. The evidence on which these conclusions are based, however, is limited to Germany and France.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the first point. It is very seldom that we find women party leaders, although there are notable exceptions, particularly in Germany; Clara Zetkin and, still more, Rosa Luxembourg, played an extremely important part in the Socialist (later Communist) Party. Today, we may mention Helene Wessel, who led the small left-wing Christian Democrat Party, the Zentrum, in the 1949 Bundestag, and, even more prominent, Louise Schroeder, of the Social Democrats, a member of the Reichstag from 1920 to 1933, and deputy mayor of Berlin from 1946 to 1948.

Only one study on the part played by women members in parliamentary debates is at our disposal, that made by the French reporter

on the debates of the National Assembly. He calculated the number of speeches made by all women members during the debates for the years 1947 and 1952, and compared it with that made by a sample group of the same number of men members (38 in 1947 and 21 in 1952). This sample was picked in alphabetical order, starting with a letter chosen at random and excluding ministers (the sample did not include any important political leaders). A group of speeches taking up a whole column in the official reports of the Assembly scored 10. Such a system of measurement, of course, gives only the relative length, with no indication of the quality, scope or importance, etc., of the speech. Within these limitations, the results obtained were as in Table 35.

TABLE 35

	1947		1952	
	38 men	38 women	21 men	21 women
Score 0-4	17	24	8	7
Score 5-9	15	11	4	7
Score 10-14	3	3	4	3
Score 15-19	—	—	2	3
Score 20+	1	0	3	1
Maximum obtained by a deputy	20	12	42	22
Total for all deputies	220	153	226	166
Average per deputy	5.7	3.6	10.7	7.9

It will be seen that there was a considerable increase in parliamentary work, for both men and women, from 1947 to 1952. It is difficult to suggest the reasons for this. They may be connected, at least in part, with the political situation. Moreover, the work of parliament is obviously not confined to assembly debates; participation in the work of the various committees, in particular, is extremely important. We have no information on this aspect of the question.

The German and French reports both make it clear that women members specialize in certain questions, while the Norwegian report, mentioning the same point, adds that they tend to concentrate their attention on social questions. A similar trend seems to be found in Yugoslavia. In Germany, 50 per cent of the motions, reports and speeches made by women in parliament relate to social questions, among which the special problems of interest to women, such as mothers' welfare, equal pay, etc., figure largely. As regards actual law-making on the part of women, it is mainly concerned with the reform of the legal status of women: equal pay, the status of women

civil servants, the right of women to own property, the rights and duties of marriage, relations between children and parents, etc. In Germany, women occupy half the seats on the committees dealing with public health, youth and welfare, 25 per cent of the seats on those dealing with petitions, labour and social policy (the petitions' committee has a woman as its chairman). Only one or two women sit on the committees concerned with the status of civil servants, the budget, finance, and administration, and there are no women at all on the committees dealing with the economic policy of the European Recovery Programme (Marshall Plan) and the frontier regions.

In France, the national reporter, using the methods described above, made a thorough analysis of the speeches delivered by women members in the Assembly debates. Speeches relating to local questions of concern to the departments represented by the members were left out of account. In the budgetary debates, general speeches were put under the heading 'Economics, finance', and speeches on particular points under the appropriate heading. The results obtained are shown in the graph on page 98.

TABLE 36

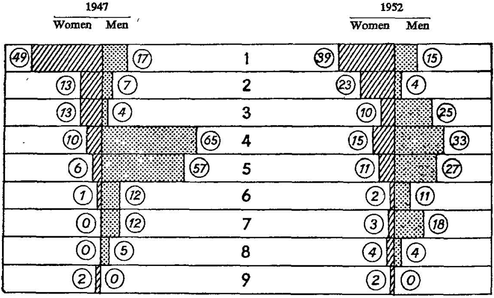
	1st Constituent Assembly	2nd Constituent Assembly	1st National Assembly	2nd National Assembly
Family questions, population, public health	8	9	7	5
National education, youth	6	6	8	2
Food	5	5	8	—
Pensions	5	4	4	3
Labour (and social security)	6	4	3	1
Press, radio, cinema	4	3	1	2
Justice	3	3	2	1
Economic affairs	1	0	5	2
Foreign affairs	1	1	2	1
Internal and general administration	1	2	1	0
Constitution	2	2	—	—
Industrial production	1	0	1	2
Reconstruction and war damage	3	1	0	0
Oversea territories	3	0	0	0
Agriculture	1	0	1	1
National defence	0	1	1	0
Communications	—	—	2	0
Finances	1	1	0	0
Beverages	0	0	1	0
Merchant navy, fisheries	0	0	1	0
Mutual aid	1	—	—	—
Family allowances	1	0	0	0
Universal suffrage	0	0	2	1

Table 36 shows the distribution of women among the parliamentary committees (each consisting of 44 members) for the four assemblies elected in France since 1945.

It is an interesting point that the small number of women in the important political committees is due less to their lack of interest in the topics dealt with than to opposition from men. This opposition was frequently mentioned by the women members questioned by the investigators. The very powerful finance committee, for example, for membership of which there is great competition, is practically closed to women. This is another instance of the discrimination (on which we have already commented) where there is keen competition between the sexes.

There is quite a sharp difference between Germany and France as regards women's rights. These seem to arouse far greater interest among women representatives in Germany than in France, where they are to a large extent neglected. It is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusions, however, since the efforts of the German women members in this field are devoted mainly to the preparation of bills—a question not dealt with in the French report.

Members speeches at the National Assembly (France)



1. Public health; family questions; housing; leisure; pensions; prisoners and deportees.
2. National education; children.
3. Professional activities.
4. Finance; general economics.
5. Internal policy; general administration.
6. Foreign affairs.
7. Agriculture.
8. National defence.
9. Protection and promotion of women's rights.

WOMEN IN THE GOVERNMENT, THE SENIOR CIVIL SERVICE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Very few women gain entry to the innermost sphere of political leadership, the government itself. In Norway, although women have had the right to vote for more than half a century, there have been only two women ministers, one of whom, a member of the Communist Party, was responsible, in the coalition government of 1945 for preparing a pensions scheme for widows and other war victims. The other, a Socialist, is minister of social affairs. Neither has had any influence on the political decisions of the government, both having kept to the specialized concerns of their own ministries. In France, there were women ministers before women had the right to sit in parliament or even the right to vote. Two women were appointed deputy Ministers of State under the Popular Front Government of 1936, one of them a Socialist and the other a Radical. Since 1944, a woman member of the MRP has had a place in certain governments, but, in all these cases, the women have held only Under-Secretaryships of State and not had the status of ministers proper. They have also had to deal with technical questions (social problems, public health, child welfare) rather than with political problems. In Yugoslavia, one woman has held ministerial rank in the Federal Government, while, in the governments of the various republics, there are two women ministers in Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia, one each in Slovenia and Bosnia, and none in Montenegro. The departments of which they are in charge are not political in character (education, labour, social welfare, local affairs, etc.). Finally, there has never been a woman minister in the central government of Germany, either under the Weimar or the Bonn Republic; this is a curious contrast to the representation of women in parliament, which is larger in Germany than in the other three countries. In 1950, however, a special women's office, directed by a woman, was set up in the Constitutional and Legislative Department of the Ministry of the Interior. It is responsible for looking after the interests of women in all fields and, in particular, for ensuring that the special sex equality clauses contained in the Constitution are applied. It also co-ordinates the activities of all the Ministries so far as they affect women. This office was not established without opposition. Some people felt it to be a discriminatory measure and thought that women's interests would be better safeguarded if women were appointed to leading posts in the various ministries. The main reason advanced in its support was the considerable difference in the male and female populations (there is a surplus of more than 4 million women, mainly in the 20 to 30 age-group), which gives rise to special problems.

In the higher civil service, the proportion of women is very small. No information is available for France. In Yugoslavia, there is a fairly large number of women in the administration (40.1 per cent in all), although there is a tendency for the number to fall since measures have been instituted to cut down the unwieldy governmental machinery. But there are considerable differences, depending on the types of post. Most of the women are in subordinate positions and very few hold important posts of command. The only exceptions are in the personnel divisions (in a large number of government offices), the Social Welfare Departments and Satistical Services. There are practically no women in the diplomatic service. As regards Norway, Tables 37 and 38 show how few women are employed in government departments and how unequal is their share of the senior posts.

In Germany, the proportion of women employed in the higher and intermediate levels of the government service is very small, and does not appear to be on the increase, as Table 39 shows.

TABLE 37. Proportion of women in administrative government posts

	Total no. of posts	Total no. of women's posts	Percentage of women's posts
Prime Minister's Office	5	1	20
Foreign Affairs	2	0	0
Education	75	19	25.3
Justice	105	4	3.8
Labour	92	6	6.5
Social Affairs	115	25	21.7
Industries	103	9	8.7
Fisheries	23	1	4.3
Agriculture	104	14	13.5
Transport	331	41	12.4
Finance	130	7	5.4
Commerce	168	16	9.5
National Defence	57	1	1.8
Total	1 401	159	11.3

TABLE 38. Distribution of women in the three main classes of posts (head of division, principal secretary, secretary)

	No. of posts	No. of women	Percentage of women
Heads of division	213	6	2.8
Principal secretaries	100	10	10.0
Secretaries	594	120	20.2
Total	907	136	15.0

TABLE 39

	December 1951			July 1952		
	Total	Women	Per cent	Total	Women	Per cent
Government Departments						
Higher-grade civil servants						
Höherer Dienst	1 203	34	2.82	1 349	34	2.52
Gehobener Dienst	1 276	27	2.11	1 423	27	1.89
Clerical grades						
Höherer Dienst	635	42	6.61	686	46	6.70
Gehobener Dienst	1 535	557	36.4	1 885	564	33.3
Administrative Services						
Higher-grade civil servants						
Höherer Dienst	4 311	10	0.23	4 761	15	0.31
Gehobener Dienst	47 147	493	1.04	48 030	555	1.15
Clerical grades						
Höherer Dienst	1 537	50	3.25	1 685	55	3.26
Gehobener Dienst	3 714	116	3.12	3 962	142	3.58

Women occupy 25 per cent of the total of posts in the federal administration, but only 14.89 per cent of those in the higher grades. This small number is explained by the fact that, in spite of the Constitution, a discriminatory clause was inserted in the Law of 1950, laying down provisional regulations governing the status of civil servants. Under this 'celibacy clause', 'any woman civil servant may be retired in the event of her marriage. She must be if she so requests; she may be without any request on her part if her domestic financial position seems secure. The financial position shall be considered to be permanently secure, if the husband himself is a pensionable, established civil servant'. It is an interesting point that, during the debate on a new law concerning the status of civil servants, women members, such as Helene Weber, did not oppose this clause. It may be compared with a somewhat similar provision introduced by a law of 1941, under the Vichy Government in France, which was repealed in 1944 after the Liberation.

We also find few women in leading positions in local government. There are very few women mayors, burgomasters, chairmen of municipal councils or of local administrative committees. When women do preside over local or municipal committees, or when they are put in charge of certain administrative departments as deputy mayors, or in some other capacity, it is nearly always in connexion with social welfare, health problems, the welfare of mothers and children, etc.

WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS

'Political leadership' does not denote solely ministers, members of parliament, senior civil servants and members of local government bodies. In addition to these official authorities, there are *de facto* authorities seeking to influence the former, either by direct intervention, or by influencing public opinion (on which under a democratic system of government, the appointment of the official authorities depends).

Political parties, trade unions, pressure groups, newspapers with a large circulation, big business, churches and religious communities, and many others, are all *de facto* authorities of this sort. There is a great variety of them and it is impossible to give an exhaustive list. The list, moreover, differs from country to country and is constantly changing within any one country.

Owing to the lack of documentary evidence, it is impossible to survey the extent to which women take part in each of them. We can say nothing, for instance, about the influence of women on the boards of directors of large business undertakings, although the question is important in itself. In the same way, we have no tangible evidence about the influence of political or political and literary 'salons', where certain women seem to play a vital role. But these institutions appear to belong to an older political and social structure, based on limited suffrage or universal suffrage in its early days. Although they were important in the nineteenth century, they now seem to be disappearing. Nevertheless, it is not certain that such groups may not still have a certain amount of influence on parliamentary life, especially in France, for instance, but this is merely conjecture and the views formed can have no scientific weight.

We shall therefore confine ourselves, in this context, to an examination of the part played by women in associations or groups which exercise a more or less direct influence on political affairs, such as political parties and pressure groups, in the wider sense of the term, etc. One basic distinction must be made in this respect. On the one hand, women are members of mixed groups where they work side by side with men, as citizens, without distinction of sex; on the other hand, there are exclusive women's associations, protecting women's special interests, and, in principle, closed to men. It might be thought that this latter type of group is more archaic, that it belongs to a stage of evolution in which equality of the sexes is not fully achieved and where women therefore find it necessary to form their own organizations to defend their special interests, while the former is characteristic of a later stage of evolution where sex

equality has become a reality and the interests of the two sexes are more or less the same, so that the rivalries between groups, ideologies and different professions push the rivalry of the sexes into the background. This interpretation is not absurd and may indeed be taken as broadly reflecting the truth. There are, however, many other factors which may interfere with this general process and explain why the two types of organizations exist side by side.

WOMEN IN MIXED GROUPS

Today very few political parties or political (economic, social, religious, intellectual, etc.) groups are open only to men. Most of them are mixed, at least in theory (in practice, as we shall see, they often include more men than women). This, in itself, is a significant development. Political parties, trade unions, professional associations, etc., were for a long time exclusively masculine groups, before becoming mixed.

We shall have to confine our consideration of the part played by women to a few of them only. Among these, we shall give a special place to the political parties, firstly because of the extremely important part they play in political life and, secondly, because the information supplied in the national reports is slightly less meagre in their case than in that of the other groups.

Women in the Political Parties

The Norwegian report gives no information at all on this point, and that contained in the French, German and Yugoslav reports is scanty and rather superficial. This lack of information is due partly to the absence of basic material (since party records and particulars are often very sketchy) and partly to a general reluctance to communicate such material when it exists. These facts make any study of political parties difficult, whether or not it is confined to women. Admitting the poverty of our evidence, however, we still find signs of three general trends: (a) the female membership of political parties is small; (b) the part played by women in the party executives is still smaller, and (c) there is a fairly clear tendency to prevent the formation, within the parties, of any women's organization with a degree of autonomy.

The number of women members of the various political parties is small.

In the four countries under consideration, the number of women voters is greater than that of the men; in all four, while there is a

higher proportion of women than men non-voters, the difference between the two is small. It would therefore seem natural for there to be as many women as men in the political parties, but this is very far from being the case. In no party are there half as many women as men; in most, there are less than a quarter as many and, in some, less than a fifth.

Care must, of course, be exercised in consulting statistics of party membership. The idea of membership does not imply exactly the same thing for all parties. In parties of the older type, formed by committees of prominent people united by more or less loose ties, membership has no very precise connotation: there is no formal procedure for joining, nor are exact statistics kept.

On the other hand, in the Socialist and Communist parties (parties of the masses), where membership implies the signing of a membership form, the acceptance of the basic organized body, and the regular payment of a subscription, the member is more clearly defined and reliable statistics can be got out. In the Christian Democrat parties (such as the French MRP and the German CDU/CSU) which occupy a position midway between these two extremes, the conception of membership varies from district to district and sometimes even from year to year. It was, for example, more rigid in the MRP in 1945 than in 1953. The percentages of women members must therefore be treated with great caution and must be regarded simply as indicative. Comparisons are possible only between parties of the same type.

On the whole, the highest percentage of women members is to be found in the Christian parties. In the German CDU the proportion of women is estimated at 30 per cent of the total membership of both sexes. Those in charge of the French MRP estimate the proportion there at 28 per cent (in an article published in the journal *Réforme* of 17 December 1951, Mrs. Michèle Barat suggests the figure of 25 per cent).

The women members seem to have remained more faithful to the party than the men in the crisis which has come about since 1945. If this were proved true, the proportion of women members of the MRP should therefore be higher today than at the outset. But the French reporter, who quotes the responsible party leaders in making this statement, gives no further information on the point.

The Socialist and Communist parties come next on the list, with a percentage of women members of about, but slightly under, 20 per cent. In France, the leaders of the SFIO Socialist Party estimate the proportion at 18 to 20 per cent. In Germany, the very exact figures of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) reveal a remarkable degree of stability in the female membership between 1947 and 1951, when it varied from 18.3 per cent to 19.2 per cent. In 1946, it was ap-

preciably lower (15.4 per cent). In the French Communist Party, the number of women members is estimated at about 20 per cent of the total; it is unfortunate that more detailed information for the whole period 1945-53 could not be supplied, as it would have been interesting to see how the behaviour of women during this period was affected by that of the party, which has lost roughly 50 per cent of its membership since 1946. The same information would have been extremely interesting, too, for the SFIO which, in the same period, has lost two-thirds of its membership. In the Yugoslav Communist Party, the proportion of women varied between 16.73 and 18.07 per cent in the period from 1948 to 1952, but there are fairly wide local variations. In Slovenia, for example, the women's membership is over 31 per cent (Table 40).

Finally, there is the group consisting of the Liberal and Radical parties, today's centre parties (left centre or right centre), which have, for the most part, preserved the old structure of the nineteenth century 'élite' parties. In the German FDP the proportion of women members is estimated as being roughly 10 to 15 per cent of the total membership. For the French Radical-Socialist Party no exact figures can be given; the reporter estimates that there are 'a few thousand' women members today, whereas, before the war there were probably only 'a few hundred', since the party remained exclusively masculine until 1923, when five women were admitted to membership. At all events, the conception of membership in this case has no precise connotation. All we can say is that the proportion of women members seems to be smaller in parties of this type.

It is difficult to give exact particulars about the age, occupational category, family status, etc., of women party members. The French reporter estimates that there is a large proportion of working-class women in the MRP ranks, and wonders whether this may not explain the fact that the women delegates at the party congresses and in the party committees incline more to the left than the men.

A survey made at Essen, in 1949, gives the following distribution for the 1,117 women party members (as against 5,286 men) of the German CDU.

18-20 yrs	6	Catholic	902
20-30 yrs	102	Protestant	215
30-40 yrs	220	Workers	24
40-50 yrs	264	Clerical workers	143
50+	525	Housewives	898

The overwhelming majority of housewives, not gainfully employed, Catholics and older women, is interesting, but these findings are applicable only to the German Christian Democrats and not to all

TABLE 40. Proportion of women in the Communist Party of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia

	Montenegro	Macedonia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Slovenia	Croatia	Serbia	Yugoslavia (total)
1948							
Membership	—	—	53 024	33 384	82 561	163 650	468 175
Women members	—	—	9 203	9 387	19 429	31 429	78 304
Per cent women	—	—	17.36%	28.12%	23.33%	17.20%	16.73%
1949							
Membership	15 814	30 984	54 120	43 672	91 372	191 062	530 812
Women members	4 437	4 347	9 690	13 768	21 842	38 479	95 900
Per cent women	28.05%	14.11%	17.90%	31.52%	23.90%	20.14%	18.07%
1950							
Membership	17 214	37 068	63 795	48 673	103 270	221 148	607 443
Women members	3 683	5 131	11 223	15 572	25 221	45 141	109 092
Per cent women	21.40%	13.84%	17.59%	23.74%	24.42%	20.41%	17.96%
1951							
Membership	20 032	46 736	81 069	52 525	127 193	251 924	704 617
Women members	4 208	6 059	13 316	16 765	29 723	50 124	123 099
Per cent women	20.01%	12.96%	16.43%	31.92%	23.37%	19.91%	17.47%
1952							
Membership	21 352	49 558	91 653	54 813	127 193	281 218	761 522
Women members	4 357	6 378	14 394	17 037	29 723	54 086	132 610
Per cent women	20.41%	12.87%	15.70%	31.50%	23.37%	19.23%	17.41%

parties. In fact, the German Social Democrats give the following distribution for their women members:

	%		%
20-30 yrs	12	Workers	25
30-40 yrs	20	Clerical workers	15
40-50 yrs	31	Civil servants	5
50+	37	Professional women	5
		Housewives	50

The proportion of housewives and older women is smaller in this case while, as is natural, the proportion of working women is much higher.

The proportion of women on party executives seems to be even smaller in relation to the already small number of women members, so that their political influence in the nation is correspondingly weakened.

Although almost a third of its members are women, there has never been a woman on the Central Committee of the German Christian Democat Party. Three women, only two of whom were members of parliament, have been members of its Country Committee, and in 1951 one of the members of the 'Parteivorstand' (Executive) was a woman. There are no women among the national officials of the French MRP and (in 1951) there were only six on its Executive Committee. There are no women leading local federations, although some hold important offices in their federations, such as the Vice-President of the Pyrenees or the Administrative Secretary of the Finistère Federation. At the moment there is only one woman on the Governing Committee (there were five before 1937). An investigation into the party leadership carried out in 1951 showed that, out of the 1,843 members then on federal executive committees, only 106, or 5.75 per cent, were women. Of the 79 federations which sent in replies, 18 had no women representatives on their federal committees, 32 had only one, 17 had 2, 9 had 3, 2 had 4, and 1 alone had 5. Generally speaking the federations which have no women on their executives are situated in agricultural districts (except for the Federation of the Bouches-du-Rhône, where there is not one woman in an executive of more than a hundred members).

In the French Communist Party, there is one woman in the Political Bureau and eight on the Central Committee. These leaders are older than the average woman member, although still younger than the women leaders of the other parties. In the Yugoslav Communist Party, the proportions are more or less the same, as Table 41 shows.

TABLE 41. The number of women attending the party congresses (as delegates) and serving on the executive bodies elected at those congresses

Congress	Year	Delegates			Elected								
					To Central Committee			To Revision Committee			Candidates for the Central Committee		
		Total	No. of women	Percent. of women	Total	No. of women	Percent. of women	Total	No. of women	Percent. of women	Total	No. of women	Percent. of women
5th C.P. Congress of Yugoslavia	1948	2 334	227	9.7	63	3	[illegible]	17	1	5.9	42	3	7
2nd C.P. Congress of Croatia	1948	947	150	15.96	57	6	10.6	11	—	—	27	3	11
2nd C.P. Congress of Slovenia	1948	806	153	—	47	5	10.6	9	2	22	18	1	5.5
1st C.P. Congress of Bosnia-Herzegovina	1948	678	59	—	48	2	4.2	9	1	11	19	2	10.5
1st C.P. Congress of Macedonia	1948	541	52	9.62	45	3	6.7	9	—	—	16	3	19
2nd C.P. Congress of Montenegro	1948	270	22	—	37	1	2.9	9	—	—	11	2	19
2nd C.P. Congress of Serbia	1949	1 438	172	11.9	63	5	7.9	13	—	—	40	1	2.5
6th C.P. Congress of Yugoslavia	1952	2 022	151	7.5	109	6	5.5	23	3	13	—	—	—

It will be seen that in any case, and in all parties, the proportion of women in official positions is much lower than the proportion in the party membership, which in turn is much lower than the proportion of women in the electorate. This progressive decline in women's representation illustrates an important aspect of the small part played by women in politics. These purely quantitative data do not, in fact, tell us anything about the real influence of women on the executive bodies, where they generally play a rather minor part. As we have seen, it is very unusual for a woman to take a prominent place in the political leadership or to exercise a far-reaching influence on her party.

However, paradoxically, in parties of the old type, with a small female membership, certain women leaders have a considerable influence. Here we must mention the German FDP and, even more, the French Radical-Socialist Party. Mrs. Kraemer-Bach and Mrs. Brunschwig, for example, seem to have played quite an important part in the latter, depending on the very important positions these women occupied in women's movements. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the German FDP, where several members also hold important positions in women's associations. The German report suggest that this situation is due to the high educational standard of the women belonging to parties of this type. Though they are few in numbers, they are very highly qualified. The very nature of these parties, which make more appeal to the 'élites' than to the masses, to the 'notables' than to the man-in-the-street, also has a bearing on this, and the additional fact that influence within the party is measured by the importance of the groups or interests one represents also explains the influence of certain prominent women.

The reluctance of the parties to set up autonomous women's organizations. Almost every party has its 'women's committee', 'women's group' or 'women's section', etc., but these organizations hardly ever enjoy real autonomy and, as such, have no real influence within the party.

A woman leader in the French MRP stated categorically at the National Congress in 1949 'We have always thought that the MRP could not tolerate the existence of a separate women's movement'. In fact, the party regulations provide for specialist groups in every branch, namely, workers' groups, rural groups, women's groups, youth groups, etc. In the Central Organization, a national Women's Section co-ordinates all the work of the local branches. The regulations of the section are drawn up by the party's National Committee. It is headed by a National Women's Committee appointed by a complicated procedure, and a National Women's Assembly which meets annually. The women's groups deal with the special problems

of women but, for all decisions on general policy, women are treated as ordinary party members. In the German Christian Democrat movement, there are women's groups at the local and federal levels and a national women's section, but the women's organization seems to be less comprehensive than in the French movement.

The reverse appears to be true of the Socialist parties, but the difference is partly due to the better organization of the SPD. In the latter, women's sections have been formed since 1947 in 1,111 out of 9,387 local branches of the party. Districts with a women's membership of more than 5,000 are represented on the executive committees of the central party organization and on the Central Committee (Parteiausschuss). In addition, a special committee for women's affairs has been formed as a working committee of the central executive. In the French SFIO, there is a national women's committee with women officers, and federal committees led by a woman federal official.

The parties' distrust of women's organizations, and their reluctance to give them any real measure of autonomy, are probably not inspired by deliberate sex discrimination. They are simply particular instances of a general tendency to prevent the development within the party of more or less autonomous groups which might lead to rivalry and division. The constant struggles of the parties with their youth groups their efforts to deprive them of all opportunities of independent action, the controls exercised over party journals and their editorial staffs, over regional or professional groups, all reflect the same mentality, the same general policy of keeping the party united in order to ensure that it is effective. But there are separate organizations for women and young people, as well as for the various specialized groups (professional or regional) because of the need for propaganda; the object is to win as many supporters as possible by demonstrating the party's interest in the particular problems of every social group. These two conflicting requirements—party unity, leading to the abolition of specialized groups, and party propaganda, leading to their development—account for the intermediate position of women's groups as of all groups of the same kind. We must not, therefore, ascribe it to any particular principle applying to women, as such.

On the contrary, the question of principle may, in exceptional cases, lead certain parties to prohibit even an embryonic separate woman's organization. Maintaining the absolute equality of the sexes, they refuse to allow any discrimination whatsoever. This is the case in the Communist Parties. In neither the French nor the Yugoslav Communist Parties—the only ones on which the national reporters gave any information—is there any special woman's organization. But, on the other hand, both these parties take care to

see that women are represented on most of their executive organs. They tend, too, to develop subsidiary women's organizations outside the party (e.g. the Union des Femmes Françaises, the Yugoslav Women's Anti-Fascist Front) which are all the more effective as organs of propaganda because they sometimes masquerade as non-political organizations. We shall deal with these organizations again later, when we come to discuss women's organizations as such.

Women in Pressure Groups

We use the term 'pressure group', in this context, in a very wide sense, to denote any association other than a political party which exercises any *de jure* or *de facto* influence, either overt or secret, in the political field. In practice, on the information available in the various national reports, our study must be limited to a single type of pressure group, namely, trade unions. The Yugoslav report, however, contains some information about other associations, such as youth movements; it is extremely interesting to see, in this connexion, that the proportion of women here is much higher than that we found in the political parties, i.e. 600,000 out of 1,600,000 or 37 per cent of the membership. This can probably be partly explained by the fact that this organization is not purely political, but has wider objects and therefore naturally makes more appeal. Special propaganda, designed to induce the younger generation of women to take a larger part in politics (which is very important for the future) may possibly also have an influence.

It would be interesting to investigate the extent of women's participation in many other pressure groups. In France, for example, they appear to be very active in the parent's committees of the private schools, which, as we know, played a very important part in the struggles over the school system, which has been a burning political issue under both the Third and Fourth Republics. Women's influence is great, too, in the Mouvement Populaire des Familles and in Catholic organizations, but it is perhaps exercised more through women's associations proper, which will be described below, than through mixed ones. In any case, the national reports give no information on this subject. We are therefore compelled to restrict our examination to the trade unions, although, even here, we have data only for Germany and Yugoslavia.

In Germany, the proportion of women in the trade unions seems to be lower today than in the time of the Weimar Republic. During that period, almost 25 per cent of the total membership of the ADGB (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) were women (1.7 out of 7.9 million). Today, however, the DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund), the most important central trade union body

in the Federal Republic, has only 17.2 per cent of women members (1,039,155 out of a total of 6,047,387 at 31 December 1952). The figure has, admittedly, been steadily rising since 1950, when it was only 14.6 per cent. The proportion is much higher in the DAG (Deutsche Angestellten Gewerkschaft), the clerical workers' organization, where 30 per cent of the 120,000 members are women. The proportion of women varies greatly according to the type of union, which is easily explained by the proportion of men and women engaged in the various occupations. It must be carefully noted that the percentages of women in the unions have a quite different significance from the percentages in the political parties. In the latter case, the sexes constitute two groups, more or less equal in size, with a slight majority of women. In the former the groups are very unequal in size, and the inequality varies greatly according to the occupational category. On the whole, the number of women eligible for union membership is smaller than the number of men.

The proportion of women members in some of the DGB unions is given below:

	%		%
Textiles	59.1	Science and education	33
Commerce, banking	47.1	Mining	1.5
Leather industry	39.9	Building	1.5
Catering and hotel industries	39.3		

Generally speaking, the proportion of women taking part in German trade union activities is thus very high. The national reporter suggests three main reasons for this state of affairs under the Weimar Republic. Firstly, women were admitted to the unions as early as 1890, while the political parties were closed to them, and they had no vote, until 1919. Secondly, women were disillusioned by political affairs proper, and by the part they found themselves playing in the political parties, which seemed to them to lead nowhere, they therefore took the view that their special interests were better served by the unions. Thirdly, the practical aims of the unions were more likely to appeal to women than the abstract programmes of the political parties.

Attention must also be drawn to a second interesting feature of German women's role in the unions, namely the very large percentage of members drawn from the younger age-groups. The following table is very interesting from this point of view:

The difference is, of course, partly due to the fact that most women stop working after the age of 60. Still, a comparison of the figures for the two youngest age-groups (18-29 and 30-44) for the different types of associations shows clearly that the unions are in a special position, since more than half the women union members are under

TABLE 42. Women's membership according to age-groups

	18-29	30-44	45-59	60+
	%	%	%	%
Religious and welfare organizations	13	31	26	21
Women's associations	11	33	37	19
Professional associations	16	36	44	16
Trade unions	56	36	8	—

30. This is obviously connected with the fact that many young women work only until their marriage; single women, however, make up only 49 per cent of the women's union membership. There therefore seems no doubt that the trade unions attract the young much more than the other types of associations. Possible explanations come easily to mind. The practice of a trade or profession tends to bring about a closer integration of women into community life; trade union claims have a more direct bearing on the material interests which are said to be of most concern to women; being a wage-earner tends to develop a closer awareness of common class interests, which overrides considerations of sex, etc. The various hypotheses require checking and the influence of each factor needs to be determined. The special situation of post-war Germany, and the place of women in society and economic life, in that country, should probably also be taken into account.

The proportion of women trade unionists in Yugoslavia is also extremely high. A survey made by the Trade Union Federation showed that 98.99 per cent of working women are members of a union. While this considerable ratio can probably be explained, in part, by the special organization and official status of the Yugoslav trade union movement it is, none the less, interesting to see the very large number of leading posts held by women in the unions. Indeed, the proportion of women in the union 'leadership' does not differ much from the proportion of women members, as the following table shows.

TABLE 43

Republic	Proportion of women union members	Proportion of women union officials (elected)
	%	%
Serbia	27.7	24.5
Croatio	28	15
Slovenia	39.6	29
Macedonia	19	12
Montenegro	17	16.5

As we have seen, the position is very different in the Yugoslav Communist Party, where the proportion of women officials is much lower than that of members. This seems to confirm the hypothesis that women are better integrated into the unions than into the other types of mixed groups.

WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

The very fact that there are associations open only to women, and safeguarding women's interests as such, is in itself significant. No such associations of men for the defence of men's rights are in existence. There are women's associations because women are conscious of constituting a separate group in present-day society, subject to a certain degree of discrimination and therefore under the necessity of organizing themselves independently for the defence of their interests. We must not, however, exaggerate this feature. It was very striking in women's associations at the beginning of the century, when they were claiming equality of rights, but it became less marked as soon as equality of rights was admitted. But the fact that legal equality has not yet been fully achieved in practice, the fact that a certain amount of anti-feminism in outlook and mentality still persists, the fact that women's political and civic education is still less advanced than that of men all these furnish good reason for the existence of these defence associations. Should complete equality be achieved, it is probable that there would still be women's associations for certain more specific interests, e.g. mothers' associations. We might therefore make a distinction between two types of women's associations, the one due to the after-effects of discrimination, the other more 'functional'. In practice, however, these two factors are very often combined, so that this distinction becomes impossible.

A Tentative Classification of Women's Associations

It is rather difficult to work out a classification of women's groups which is not artificial. Taking the associations' aims as the criterion, we can distinguish five fairly clear groups: (a) Truly political associations, such as the suffragette movement, feminist associations, women's political parties; there are very few of these and they seem no longer to reflect the present status of women in society. (b) Civic associations, educational in character, aiming at developing women's social consciousness, and giving them political training, so that they will be able to exercise their rights advisedly; this kind of organization is best exemplified by women voter's associations,

like the powerful American League of Women Voters. (c) Religious associations, whether Catholic or Protestant (the former are usually more highly developed than the latter), which are educational, with a denominational bias, the civic training they give being inspired by religious ethics. (d) Associations concerned with practical interests, such as housewives' leagues, mothers' leagues, professional associations of women barristers, doctors, etc. (e) Co-ordinating associations: federations of women's societies of the various types listed above, seeking to maintain certain links between them for the better defence of women's special interests. The two last-named appear to have no political function and ought not therefore to figure on our list, but, in reality they often play a very important part in politics (especially the common interest associations) either indirectly or by serving to 'camouflage' political organizations.

In practice, many parties use indirect tactics to influence women. Finding that women are reluctant to join the parties themselves, they form women's associations which are ostensibly non-political, but are in fact appendages of a party, directed by it, following its political line, and tending to support the same interests. The best example is the Union des Femmes Françaises, an offshoot of the French Communist Party. These para-political groups may take the form of associations for civic education, or common interest associations, or a mixture of the two. It will thus be seen that the classification suggested above cannot be applied without difficulty. Many religious associations have, in fact, a very definite political bias in spite of their claims to be non-political. Indeed, one of the characteristic features of women's associations is their dislike of openly admitting any political interests and still more of acknowledging a connexion with any particular party, in spite of their marked tendency to intervene in political affairs, and of the fact that they are often more or less closely linked to a political party. This camouflage of political activities, this attempt to enlist women's support for a particular political view by way of their practical interests, religious convictions or education for citizenship is a most important phenomenon. It probably reflects the present psychological and social attitude of women towards politics, and the doubts many of them still show about political life. Even if the parties do not approve of this attitude, they take it into account, for reasons of efficiency, in their propaganda.

In order to clarify these processes, we shall now examine rather more closely certain examples of women's organizations, representing some of the most important types. Further distinctions might indeed be drawn according to the structure of the associations. The French reporter, who undertook a systematic census of women's associations, suggests that they be classified in three groups: firstly,

those with a very small membership, dignified by a formal title and a printed letterhead, high commands with no officers and no troops, Parisian coteries more closely resembling the salons of the nineteenth century than the other associations of the twentieth century; secondly, those comprising several committees covering at least a part of the country, each in contact with the others, and each consisting of a few members who are usually more or less influential and distinguished women, more or less representative and noted women; finally the third group consists of wide organizations with a very large membership, a proper system of affiliation and regular subscriptions. If we leave aside the first group, which comes under a different sociological heading, the other two roughly reflect the distinction we have already made, with reference to political parties,[1] between parties of the élite and parties of the masses. This distinction can be applied generally to most of the movements concerned.

An Examination of Certain Types of Women's Associations

There is very little to be said about women's political associations, few of which exist. Apart from the feminist and suffragette groups founded to fight for women's political rights in the days before they were recognized, the existence of such associations appears to conflict with the very object they have in view. If women are to exercise the rights granted to them on an equal footing with men, they must work side by side with men in mixed groups. A women's political party would sanction the discrimination to which it was nominally opposed (once women had won political equality). In actual fact, we have found small women's parties in Germany under the Weimar Republic, and under the Bonn régime. They seem to reflect a measure of disappointment at the very small place in political life given to women by the men's parties. The manifesto issued by one of them, the Deutsche Frauenpartei which was founded in 1951, makes this very clear. 'This organization', it states, 'was not founded because of any opposition on the part of women towards men, but because of women's disappointment in the established political parties which, so far, without regard to the large body of women voters, have secured the admission of only 31 women to the Legislative Assembly, as against 379 men.' In any event, the influence of these women's parties is extremely small.

Much more important and very different in character was the Women's Anti-Fascist Front, founded in Yugoslavia in 1941. It was originally a resistance organization, whose main task was to

1. cf. Maurice Duverger, *Les partis politiques*, Paris, 1951.

mobilize women to fight against the occupying power. After the liberation, this movement changed its aims and devoted itself to the political and cultural education of Yugoslav women. At the same time, it assisted economic organizations and took up social problems and the question of helping in voluntary work. Its structure was very similar to that of a political party, with a branch in every constituency in every town or village. The Yugoslav reporters considers that 'the Women's Anti-Fascist Front promoted the social and political awakening of women, especially in the country districts'. It was, in fact, at one and the same time a political party and an association for education for citizenship. The civic education it gave had a political bias (it is questionable, incidentally, whether there is any alternative if civic education is to be taken beyond the very elementary stage) but that is another question. It very soon became obvious to the Yugoslav leaders that the Women's Anti-Fascist Front would have to disappear as a women's political organization and be incorporated in a similar organization open to both sexes. For that reason, it was decided, at the 1950 Congress, that the WAF should be dissolved and its branches incorporated into the Popular Front (now the Worker's Socialist Alliance), a group wider in scope than the Communist Party and including non party sympathizers.

But although (apart from the special case of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front) women's political parties have not developed to any extent, women's associations formed as offshoots of the parties are sometimes extremely important. The French reporter considers that the two most influential types of association in France are the Catholic organizations and the Union des Femmes Françaises, a subsidiary of the Communist Party. Although the latter does not describe itself as a political group open only to Communist women or as a women's branch of the Communist Party, it does not pretend to be a neutral, non-political body solely concerned with women's special practical problems. While all its propaganda lays stress on these problems, often treating them in a very practical and thorough way, they are always set against the wider economic and political background and linked up with a general political doctrine which explains and throws light on them. This doctrine is not specifically Communist or Marxist although it can be related to the basic assumptions of Marxism. The woman is considered not only as a wife and mother, but as a worker. Women's work is not looked upon as an economic necessity (to add to the family budget) but as a means of emancipation, for a woman who is economically independent will be a better wife and a better mother. The problem is to organize family life (by means of nurseries, kindergartens, col-

lective washing and mending arrangements, etc.) to make such economic independence possible.

In addition to this political propaganda, concentrated on women's special practical problems, the UFF conducts campaigns more particularly concerned with some special aspect of general policy. Here again, the objective is not purely Communistic, but has a wider significance in the Communist Party line, such as peace propaganda and the Stockholm appeal. Such topics make it possible to appeal particularly to women's feelings and concerns. In short, the aim is, by all these means, to develop active sympathy among women for the political aims of the Communist Party, laying special emphasis on the problems which are closest to women's hearts. This reveals the Union's character as an ideological auxiliary of the party. As regards organization, this is borne out by the fact that the leaders, at all levels, are party members. According to the French reporter, the basic organizations (typified by the 'centre') are always under the direct responsibility of a member of the bureau or branch committee of the Communist Party. As many non-Communist women as possible are included in the executive committees in order to make the organization look non-political, but the key posts are always in the hands of party members. There is nothing novel about these methods, incidentally, which are typical of all such auxiliary bodies.

The influence of the Union des Femmes Françaises varies greatly from district to district. On the whole it appears to be considerable, and in this connexion, the French reporter instances a case in a district in which it seems to have been particularly effective, namely, the mining regions of northern France. It may be as well to quote what he says. 'From evidence supplied by prominent politicians from the department and well acquainted with it, the success of the Communist Party in this region is largely due to the tactics of indirect recruitment through members of the UFF. Social conditions in the mining region admittedly favour the propagation of the Communist ideology, but the work of the UFF has nevertheless been extremely skilful. It has used all possible means, particularly those which seem to have absolutely no political significance, such as Christmas trees, socials, excursions, etc. Once they have become members of the UFF, a relatively large proportion of the women join the Communist Party, or are, at least, drawn into its orbit. The women thus converted to Communism by well planned and cleverly disguised propaganda, have helped to swell the ranks of the male members of the party at the expense of the SFIO and MRP. This is an example of the indirect political influence which women may wield.'

The UFF is a typical example of the apparently non-partisan (al-

though not non-political) organization which is in reality tied to a particular party. Religious, and particularly Catholic, associations, are examples of another type, i.e. groups which, while claiming to be non-political, in fact advocate a definite enough policy, which may be either that of a particular party or common to a group of several, according to the case. The fairly detailed study of the Ligue Féminine d'Action Catholique and especially of the Union Féminine Civique et Sociale, made by the French reporter, brings out these characteristics well. The former is more directly controlled by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is mainly concerned with matters of principle, championing religious freedom and the rules of Christian morality in family, social and civic life. The latter is less directly controlled by the clergy and carries on 'activities relating to technical remedies on the temporal plane' (conclusions of the Permanent Committee of the Cardinals and Archbishops of France, 17 June 1948). At the same time, it works for 'the spread of knowledge among a wider public of the principles of natural law, as defined, supplemented and adapted by the Church' (idem). This latter aspect of its work in fact covers propaganda among those sympathetic to Catholicism.

The French League for Catholic Action is said to have 2.2 million members, 200,000 of whom may be considered active workers. Roughly 50 per cent are said to be engaged in agriculture (the league has a great influence in rural areas), and most of its members are married, the proportion of single women varying between 6 and 12 per cent according to the department. The league is organized on a highly centralized basis, local and departmental officials are elected from a list drawn up by the central body, and all nominees must be approved by the ecclesiastical authorities. The league organizes mothers' meetings, mutual aid and educational services, libraries (4,000 for the whole of France). In the civic field, it tells women about political institutions, and informs them of their political rights and duties. It carries on vigorous propaganda against non-voting, and although it puts up no candidates and supports no specific party, it teaches its members that they 'are required, as conscience dictates, to vote for a Christian candidate'.

It conducts propaganda against non-Christian candidates and parties, with particular reference to the Socialist and Communist parties. If there are several Christian candidates, it does not favour a particular one, but in the event of there being only one, its attitude is tantamount to supporting a particular party. It therefore has a political influence. The Union Féminine Civique et Sociale follows the same principles, but its political sympathies are sometimes much clearer. At the constitutional referendum in May 1946, it specifically required its members to vote 'no'. During elections, its orders

are often locally very definite, sometimes even stating exactly how to vote. It appears, incidentally, to have certain links with the MRP. In addition to its general propaganda work, it seeks to train women political leaders who will be capable of serving as municipal councillors, members of the Conseils Généraux, members of parliament, etc. In this way, too, it has considerable political influence.

The German Union of Catholic Women appears to carry on the same sort of activities as the French Union Féminine Civique et Sociale. Like the latter, it seeks to educate its members politically and to train some of them as leaders capable of assuming political responsibilities. It also concerns itself with legislation, especially in connexion with the rights of the family, mothers' welfare, children, etc., and carries on practical social work. Its membership is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 250,000, the majority of whom are older women, aged between 45 and 60. There is also a Federation of German Protestant Women, with 100 to 120 affiliated organizations. Its activities are similar to those of the Catholic Union but its influence seems to be less.

In France, no women's associations for the protection of practical interests having no political bias or religious ties have any great influence in political matters. In Germany, on the other hand, the Deutscher Hausfrauen Bund (housewives' league) has more than 100,000 members and plays quite an important part. It is represented on various ministerial committees, especially in the Departments of Labour, the Interior, Economics, Agriculture and Food, and its views receive close government attention. It strives to make women aware of their economic importance as consumers, and its monthly review contains, besides general news and advice on domestic economy, information on the activities of women in parliament and general articles on economics.

We cannot list here all the other types of women's associations, such as professional groups (women barristers, women doctors, etc.), associations of university women, and organizations co-ordinating the work of women's associations as a whole. Although many of them do much to make women aware of their role in society, they generally have only a very indirect influence on political life and are therefore only on the fringe of our investigation. On the other hand, the various associations for education in citizenship (leagues of women voters, civic education committees, etc.) come directly into our field. But those of them which have really remained independent of the churches or political parties do not seem to possess any great influence (although in Germany they appear to play a rather larger part than in France). Any form of civic education which sets out to be non-political is probably automatically condemned to be very limited and somewhat uninteresting. It is for this reason

that the most influential and important women's associations seem to be those linked to a particular party or a particular religious group.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to give Table 44 drawn up by the German reporter to show the distribution, according to age, marital status, religion, education and occupation, of the members of the various women's associations as compared with that of the women members of trade unions.

TABLE 44

	Trade unions	Religious and welfare associations	Professional organizations	Women's and mothers organizations
	%	%	%	%
Age				
18-29	56	13	16	11
30-44	36	31	25	33
45-59	8	36	44	37
60+	—	21	16	19
	100	100	100	100[1]
Religion				
Protestants	46	37	48	34
Catholics	48	61	48	65
Others	—	2	—	—
No religion	7	1	3	—
	100	100	100	100
Marital status				
Married	37	62	61	69
Unmarried	49	15	16	12
Widows	5	1	3	1
Husband away	2	—	—	—
	100	100	100	100
Education				
Primary school	92	87	72	92
Secondary school	5	11	17	7
School-leaving certificate (Abitur)	2	2	8	1
University	2	1	5	1
	100	100	100	100
Occupation				
Gainfully employed	64	21	61	18
Not gainfully employed	36	79	39	82
	100	100	100	100

1. If the total is sometimes slightly over or under 100, it is because the figures are given to the nearest whole number.

Source: *Federal Survey 1953* of Unesco Institute for Social Sciences, Cologne.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

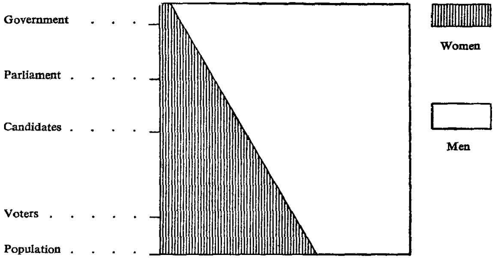
A very definite disparity is to be seen between the part played by women in elections and the part they play in political leadership. The study of women's political behaviour does not confirm the classic democratic doctrine that the governors reflect and represent the will of the people as expressed at elections.

So far as elections are concerned, the proportion of women taking part in political life is large, and does not differ materially from that of men, as regards either numbers or composition. It is true that there are generally slightly more non-voters among women than among men, and that the woman's vote is generally slightly more conservative and more subject to religious influences. But these differences are small and apply only to a tiny fraction of the female electorate. In certain exceptional circumstances, these marginal differences may have a considerable influence on the governmental majority and the trend of policy, but they still remain marginal. They can often be explained, incidentally, by fairly marked differences between the male and female population (e.g. the larger number of widows than widowers, or disparities between the age-pyramids). There is nothing here to suggest an essential peculiarity in woman's nature or a fundamental difference in men's and women's behaviour. The only important feature from this point of view would be marital authority in political matters, if it is true (as the preceding observations tend to show) that the unanimity in voting between husband and wife stems from submission to the will of the husband. But perhaps these observations are superficial; although it appears to be established that the wife votes as her husband wishes, there is the possibility that his decision is unconsciously influenced by the whole life of the couple and the very presence of his wife. Would a bachelor decide to vote in the same way? It is extremely doubtful. It is always a nice problem to determine who is really the authority in the home, in political as in other matters.

So far as government, in the broad sense of the term, is con-

cerned, the position is entirely different. Here the political role of women is extremely small and grows still smaller as we approach the 'centre' of political leadership. There are few women candidates at elections, fewer women members of parliament, still fewer women ministers, and no women heads of governments. The following diagram illustrates the position:

Political roles of men and women



This progressive decline in women's influence as the higher levels of leadership are reached is not only noticeable in the structure of the State and its political organs, but is also to be found in the government service, the political parties, the trade unions, private businesses, etc. Nor are there any perceptible signs of improvement in this respect. Although the difference in the proportions of men and women non-voters sometimes tends to lessen in certain countries, nothing similar can be noted at the parliamentary and governmental levels. The percentage of women members of parliament, for instance, is hardly increasing. On the contrary, it tends to fall after the first elections in which women have had the suffrage, and to become stabilized at a very low level.

Quantitatively small, the part played by women in political leadership has, so to speak, a special qualitative bias. Here there is a fairly sharp difference in behaviour between the sexes. In party leadership, in senior administrative posts, in parliaments and in governments, the few women included concentrate on specialized matters, such as health, education, motherhood, family welfare, housing, etc.—that is, on all problems which, in the general opinion,

are considered to be of special interest to women. At first sight, it might be thought that this specialization is chiefly characteristic of the first phase in women's participation in political life, and that it will tend progressively to diminish. But this optimistic interpretation is belied by the facts; so far, there are signs, on the contrary, of a very definite aggravation of this tendency towards specialization. Nothing demonstrates this trend more clearly than the history of the parties of the Left and the extreme Left as regards this problem. At the beginning of the century, they were vehemently against any sex discrimination and attempted to give women and men strict equality in political life. Today, although they have not directly renounced their original doctrine, they stress women's role as wives and mothers and make their women leaders responsible for directing activities for women as such, developing housewives' leagues, or mothers' associations, in preference to encouraging women to join the parties themselves. In another field, the political parties which are at present doing most to encourage women to take part in politics—the Christian and Christian Democrat parties—have more or less officially adopted the idea of discrimination between men and women in the political sphere, in the modified form of 'specialization'. The feminism of 1954 is not the same as that of 1900. The latter refused to admit any distinction between the sexes and treated both men and women as citizens. But the former bases its doctrine on the differences between the sexes and encourages women to enter political life for the defence of interests which are considered to be their special concern.

The small influence of women in the real leadership of States i.e. in the elaboration and application of political decisions, seems attributable, in the first instance, to male opposition. This opposition was already vigorous with regard to the suffrage. It is symptomatic that the right to vote has seldom been granted to women by a parliamentary decision, but has usually resulted from a revolution and the decision of a provisional government which had not, itself, been elected. In point of fact, this is true of three out of the four countries investigated, Germany, France and Yugoslavia. Only in Norway was woman's suffrage introduced by the ordinary democratic processes. Nevertheless, men's opposition gradually abated as the results of women's suffrage showed how little it had changed the earlier situation. At the governmental level, on the other hand, this opposition is still extremely strong, since competition is felt to a very large extent.

This seems to be a general tendency. As soon as there is a serious threat of unemployment in a trade or profession where the two sexes have previously been on an equal footing, women are the

first to suffer, either by being the first affected by staff reductions or by discrimination in regard to wages, or by simply finding it impossible to obtain employment. The equality between men and women as regards gainful employment, seldom perfect, deteriorates as soon as competition becomes keener. The discriminatory legislation of the German Federal Republic with regard to married women civil servants simply reflects this attitude particularly clearly because the population situation and the economic policy have rendered competition on the labour market fiercer.

Now, there has always been extremely keen competition for political leadership. In the choice of a local party leader from among the members, of a candidate for election among the party leaders, or of a minister or a member of a parliamentary committee from among the members of parliament, the rivalry is intense. To give a post to a woman is to deprive a man of it and, in these circumstances, the posts given to women are cut down to the minimum required for propaganda purposes. All the evidence collected on this point in the various countries is in agreement. In the realm of politics, the 'promotion of women' comes up against a barrier of male opposition. The official statements made at the last congress of the Yugoslav Communist League bear out the complaints formulated by French and German women members of parliament and of political parties. The mechanism at work here is, in its way, the same as that which makes it difficult for younger men to get into politics and to bring new blood into political leadership, but the unity of the older generation is less solid than that of the male sex, or, more exactly, it is not founded on the same psychological and social substructure.

The essentially competitive reasons for the elimination of women are indeed masked by a very effective justification mechanism. The argument is that politics is, by nature, a field essentially suited to men, to which women should be admitted only in exceptional circumstances and then only within strictly defined limits. The old theory of women's incapacity, *imbecillitas sexus,* is scarcely ever advanced officially now, although it still has many supporters, whether conscious or otherwise. The free access of women to education and higher education and their success in various careers makes it difficult to maintain that they are by nature incapable of managing public affairs efficiently. Besides, as has often been observed, the results of men's management have not been so brilliant in this field that the male sex can boast of its proven capability. There is no doubt that this old argument, drawn from Roman and canon law, is losing ground, but it is being very successfully replaced by a new form of justification which might be called the functional theory.

In this, no attempt is made to maintain inequality between man

and woman and the superiority of the former, but the object is to establish a kind of division of labour, based on a difference of aptitudes. The slogan 'woman's place is in the home' is simply the extreme conservative form of a subtler and less uncompromising line of reasoning. More advanced exponents of the functional theory recognize the right of women to work outside the home and to take a part in civic and social life and in political affairs, but only on condition that they confine their activities to problems of motherhood, education, and the family—to what might be termed 'home policy'. In this way they make the best of a bad job, whilst at the same time limiting the damages. This is basically the same attitude as that of a mother country which admits the natives of the colonies to certain administrative and technical posts, without allowing them to take part in political leadership proper, or as that of certain employers who allow their workers to take part in the direction of the social welfare side of the business but not in its economic direction. In spite of appearances, it is fundamentally anti-equalitarian, for it tacitly assumes that man's aptitudes are polyvalent, while those of women are monovalent.

However subtle their arguments in justification, men's opposition to the participation of women in political life would not have succeeded so well if it had come up against vigorous resistance from women. But, in general, such resistance is weak and is conducted, in the main, by small isolated minority groups which have no chance of securing real results. It must be acknowledged that the small influence of women in State leadership is in large measure due to women's own inertia. There can be no denying that women are less interested in politics than men. In the IFOP investigation conducted in June 1953, less than two months after the municipal elections, two out of three men (60 per cent) said that they had been interested in the results for the whole country, as against one woman out of three (34 per cent). Roughly the same proportion (70 per cent of men and 35 per cent of women) answered the following question in the affirmative. 'Do you ever discuss politics with people you know well?'. The answers to the next question 'Do you ever discuss politics with people you know little or not at all?' are still more significant, for 30 per cent of the men answered 'yes' as against 10 per cent of the women. To the direct question 'Are you interested in politics?' the answers were as follows: *Men.* 'Yes', 36 per cent; 'slightly', 36 per cent; 'no', 28 per cent. *Women.* 'Yes', 13 per cent; 'slightly', 27 per cent; 'no', 60 per cent.

As it was, this referred only to a vague general interest in 'politics' as a whole. When we come to consider active participation in political life and the possibility of standing as candidates, women's

attitude is the same—46 per cent of the women questioned by the IFOP thought that a woman ought not to stand for the municipal elections (the least political of all) but only 14 per cent expressed the same disapproval in the case of a man candidate.

Not only do women show little desire to win a place in political leadership, but the great majority of them accept the system of justification invented by men to rationalize their standing aside from it. Curiously, they sometimes seem to be more uncompromising than men in this regard, and more anti-feminist. Consider the following results of the IFOP survey. The persons questioned were given a list of activities ranging from the simple reading of political news to standing for election or campaigning actively for a political party. They were asked if there were any activities on this list which seemed to them unsuitable for members of their own or the opposite sex. The answers were as follows:

Answer	For a person of your own sex		For a person of the opposite sex	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	%	%	%	%
Yes, there are	16	76	64	15
No, there are not	78	16	26	76
No answer	6	8	10	9

The change in the attitude of the left-wing parties towards women is probably linked with the realization of this fundamental fact. When they championed the arguments of traditional feminism, of the absolute equality of men and women, of their identical part in political life as citizens, they were not followed by the female public any more than by the male public. It is significant from this point of view that the only mass movements which attract women are para-political organizations such as the Union des Femmes Françaises and the Ligue Féminine d'Action Catholique, which have specifically 'feminine' objects and specialized interests and which do not openly admit their political connexions and their political interests. It may be that the change in the policy of certain left-wing parties in this field is purely a matter of tactics and does not compromise their long-term strategy, which is designed to establish real equality between the sexes; none the less, the change is of great importance in analysing the present opinions of women with regard to their role in political life.

We still have to determine on what grounds these opinions are based. Why do women agree to specialize in family, household and educational matters, while admitting that men can do anything?

Why are not women feminists, or not more so? There is a large measure of truth in the economic explanation advanced by some people. We have seen, throughout this report, how much the political attitude of working women differs from that of those 'not gainfully employed'. Women are intensely conscious of the wife's economic dependence on the husband. To some extent, moreover, this feeling develops simultaneously with the increase in the number of women earning their own living. When very few women had their own income, those who remained at home felt that their position was natural and inevitable, in accordance with the natural order of things, unquestioned and unquestionable. Today, some women are developing an inferiority complex in this respect, often enough kept in being by the husband ('I earn OUR living' is a typical retort in family arguments).

Nevertheless, the influence of the economic factor appears to be indirect. It is not so much the dependence or independence of the woman which seems to affect her part in political life, as the way of life and the social relations open to her as a result. To put it crudely, we might say that the exercise of a profession develops extroversion, the keeping of a house introversion. The human contacts implicit in working life, the social problems arising from it, and the collective and political interests which it engenders, are probably more important than the sense of economic independence it gives. The French reporter has given a very good description of the traditional woman's world, closed and limited. This withdrawal into a small restricted group, this semi-exclusive concentration on a microcosm, are in direct conflict with an interest in politics, where problems must be stated in general terms, where everything must be taken into account, where an awareness of the 'macrocosm is vital'. It may be suggested that this withdrawal into the family group is itself connected with the economic factor. Does it not apply mainly to families with modest incomes where the women are overburdened with material tasks? Experience to some extent confirms this hypothesis. Admittedly, as the family income increases, many women who are not employed merely change their domestic concerns although their basic family 'introversion' remains the same; worries about servants, parties, etc., take the place of washing, cleaning and cooking in their thoughts. Some improvement is, however, to be seen in this respect, particularly among the younger generations.

In point of fact, the economic factor ought not to be considered in isolation. Whether a woman has a career or not, whether she earns her own living or not, she has a place in a general social structure (in which economic factors, incidentally, play an essential part). It is in the general structure of society, in the psychological

and social environment, that the fundamental explanation of women's behaviour should probably be sought. The laws establishing the civic equality of men and women are in advance of the customs of society. In spite of the far-reaching changes of the last half-century, the western civilizations are still based on the pre-eminence of the man. If the majority of women are little attracted to political careers, it is because everything tends to turn them away from them; if they allow politics to remain essentially a man's business, it is because everything conduces to this belief, tradition, family life, education, religion and literature. From birth, women are involved in a system which tends to make them think of themselves as feminine. The publicity which blazes around the few women who are outstandingly successful in 'non-feminine' fields accentuates the fact that they are exceptions and the gulf which divides them from the normal woman's life.

Besides her specialization in the tasks of mother, wife and housewife, her introverted attitude towards the home, that closed world which should absorb all her energies and all her dreams, a woman also has a feeling of dependence on man. This is perhaps the fundamental obstacle to her playing a full part in political life. Under a democratic system, political activity is essentially adult. It presupposes that anyone engaging in it takes full responsibility for his fate and does not leave it to another to decide for him. It is diametrically opposed to any form of parternalism in social relations. But, while women have, legally, ceased to be minors, they still have the mentality of minors in many fields and, particularly in politics, they usually accept paternalism on the part of men. The man—husband, fiancé, lover or myth—is the mediator between them and the political world. 'When things go wrong, women blame their husbands, men blame the government' is a fairly apt summing up of this basic attitude. The French reporter's analysis of sentimental women's magazines (*la presse du cœur*) shows up all its implications. Faced with the same basic set of circumstances—an inferior social and economic position, leading to a sense of deprivation and frustration and a feeling of belonging to a 'proletariat', young men tend to turn towards the revolutionary parties or the trade unions, young women towards the expectation of a rich and handsome 'prince charming', who will deliver them from the poverty and ugliness of their everyday world. The sentimental magazines simply supply this basic need, by giving their readers their weekly dose of hope and illusion. To denounce the very real damage they do is, to some extent, hypocritical, for they meet a need, resulting from the general attitudes of present-day western society and the upbringing it gives to women, which is merely intensified by the situation in which certain social groups are placed.

It is therefore useless to seek to give women a larger part in political life by special reforms in this particular field. The small part played by women in politics merely reflects and results from the secondary place to which they are still assigned by the customs and attitudes of our society and which their education and training tend to make them accept as the natural order of things. Purely political reforms are effective here only so far as they tend gradually to modify this situation, to counteract the effects of habit and tradition, to help women to free themselves from them, and to awaken them to a sense of their own independence. From this point of view, woman's suffrage is probably a most important reform; if its short-term political results are small, its long-term educational value seems to be great. It is probably still more important to fight against the deeply-rooted belief in the natural inferiority of women, based on physiological or psycho-physiological considerations—a particularly serious obstacle because women feel deeply the special characteristics of their sex in this respect.[1]

All the efforts of mankind are, in fact, directed to overcoming inequalities deriving from differences in natural conditions. From this point of view, those deriving from sex are no more important than those resulting from climate, soil composition or difficulties of communications. There is no more an inferior sex than there are inferior races or inferior classes. But there is a sex, and there are classes and races, who have come to believe in their inferiority because they have been persuaded of it in justification of their subordinate position in society.

1. Simone de Beauvoir's book, *Le deuxième sexe,* is an important work of testimony from this point of view.

APPENDIXES

I. PRELIMINARY WORKING PAPER WITH A VIEW TO THE PREPARATION OF NATIONAL REPORTS ON THE POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN

by Maurice Duverger

First, it is essential that the research project bear on the actual participation of women in political life, not on the formal rights granted to them by constitutional or legal provisions. The latter, of course, are an element of the problem, in particular, it is of interest to investigate the connexion between the formal recognition of women's rights and their actual participation in political life, and to measure the gap between the legal and the actual situation. The national reporters, therefore, will first have to give a brief account of the legal status of women in the country considered. That aspect however, must remain introductory and preliminary and should not become the main purpose of the report.

In the second place, the time allowed for research before the Hague congress being very short—only the general lines of research and the approaches to the problem can be outlined. This working paper has been drawn up accordingly. Its only aim is to prepare a catalogue of the most important issues, and it makes no claim to completeness. It must moreover be adapted to the real situation in every country.

FORMS OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LIFE

The political activity of women must be investigated in all the fields where it appears.

Electoral Participation

Is the percentage of female abstentions higher or lower than the percentage of male abstentions? A distinction must be drawn between general and local elections, and the investigations must bear on a long period, if possible (the gaps in electoral statistics do not always allow it).

Participation of women in electoral campaigns: attendance at electoral meetings, help in propaganda (e.g. canvassing), etc. Is there a propaganda specially aimed at women, what are its main themes?

Comparative distribution of the female and male vote among the different

parties. Evolution of the female vote: is it more stable or more floating than the male vote? (The comparison can seldom be made, as the statistics do not separate the two categories, as the method of voting prohibits this. Still, opinion polls could be organized to this end. The governments should moreover be induced to experiment with voting by separate ballot-boxes in sample constituencies, e.g. in the case of by-elections.)

Participation in Political Assemblies and Governments

Is there a trend toward stabilization, toward an increase or a decrease? Effective participation in parliamentary life; committees, debates, tabling of bills (scope of that participation).

Participation in local assemblies (town-councils, provincial assemblies, state legislature, etc.).

Participation in government: women-ministers. Number and nature of ministerial departments held; influence of the holders. Participation in local government and administrative authorities.

Participation in the Administrative and the Para-Political Professions

Number of women employed by the administration. Distinctions must be drawn according to categories of administrations and nature of positions held. Is there equality as between men and women in administrative competitive examinations (percentage of female candidatures—and percentage of success)? Evolution of that participation: is it stable, rising or decreasing?

Women in the magistrature (and the connected professions: barristers, solicitors, etc.).

Women in the educational system (state and non-state) at the different levels.

Women in the military forces.

Participation in Societies

Women in political parties: have separate organizations been set up within the parties, or are women affiliated directly? Number of female members. Leading positions held by women at every level; their role in the 'inner circle'; their degree of influence in the party.

Para-political feminine societies ('civic', 'social', or 'patriotic' societies). Their organization, importance and influence. The actual connexion between those organizations and certain parties.

Formally neutral feminine societies (benevolent and charitable societies, clubs, societies of women-graduates, of former pupils of institutions or universities, etc.): possible connexion of those societies with parties and political life; their influence.

Women and pressure groups: participation in non-specifically feminine

pressure groups—thorough and detailed investigations of feminine pressure groups, of their different forms, of their real influence.

Women and the Press

Participation of women in the political and the information press: role of women-journalists, degree of influence.

What part the newspapers play for female readers, in political matters: are efforts made to expound political and social problems to women?

The feminine press: is there a feminine political press? Circulation, degree of influence, readers. Has the officially non-political feminine press (family or domestic papers, fashion papers, etc.) actually a concealed political bias? What is its influence?

Indirect Action of Women upon Political Life

Influence of female personalities in the village or ward (some women shopkeepers, for instance, play a part not unlike that of the public house; see also the 'concierges' in big towns, etc.); do the parties make special efforts in connexion with these social categories?

Political 'salons' and their degree of influence; the wives and *égéries* of politicians (do those influences, which were very important in some countries during the preceding century, still prevail?). Women-secretaries of politicians; women in ministers' departmental staffs, etc.

The political role of women within the family: the wife's influence upon the political opinion and the vote of the husband. To which extent marriage handicaps the political participation of women; for example, their inability to be away from home or travel on political campaigns or as to take part in local political bodies, meetings in the capital and in international organizations?

Women in those sections of the economy which exert a political influence.

CATEGORIES OF WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN POLITICAL LIFE

In each of the fields of investigation outlined above, the different categories of women participating in political life should be distinguished as far as possible.

Differences Connected with Social Environment

Is participation greater among the middle classes of industry and trade, the working class, the peasantry, the intellectual circles? The social origin of women's participation in the different forms of political life should be ascertained. Do they keep their connexions with their original class? Is participation in political life a means of escape and of social ascent?

Differences Connected with Family Surroundings

Percentage of single and married women among those participating in the different aspects of political life. Number of children in the family. Influence on the family of the mother's political activity.

Differences Connected with Educational Attainment and Occupational Status

Standard of schooling of, degrees held by, and occupational status of women M.P.'s or those belonging to local councils, to the administration, etc. Interest in political life at different levels of education and in different occupations.

Differences Connected with Age

Is there a possibility of establishing statistics on the active part taken by women in politics, according to age? It would be interesting to ascertain whether there is a break between two generations. Does interest in political life diminish or increase with age? Have some feminine societies or groups a definite age-group character?

Character Differences

Character studies of women participating in political life would be of interest: character-rating methods, even though summary, might, when applied to this field of inquiry, yield correlation and go beyond the individual biography (although the latter should not be neglected).

Obviously the reports drawn up at such short notice cannot investigate all the above mentioned issues. The aim of the Congress' debates will be, not to sum up completed research but rather compare methods and to lay the foundation of a much more thorough investigation, in connexion with Unesco, which has included the problem in its programme.

For the same reasons, it will hardly be possible to deal with more general issues created by the participation of women in political life: their influence upon administration, upon legislation, upon family life, upon the evolution of social ethics; the attitude of public opinion (male and female) towards this participation, etc.

Nevertheless, it is essential, from the very beginning of this research, to list the different fields where it is to take place, to set up a catalogue on the research facilities which are available in each country for carrying out studies in the field of political participation on the part of women, and also to stress the necessity of using several investigation methods concurrently: field work, statistical investigation, opinion polls, character-rating, monographs, biographies, etc. Therefore, in order to carry on the work undertaken by the

Hague Congress, it seems necessary to appoint in every country a research director to co-ordinate the activity of the specialists in each single method; and even, possibly, a directory body on the international level.

II. WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LIFE

A report to the Political Science Congress,
The Hague 8-12 September 1952

by Maurice Duverger

In selecting this study theme for the Hague Congress, the International Political Science Association had in mind that it had been included in Unesco's programme for 1952-53. The primary idea was to present a general picture of the problem, which might be used as a basis for the detailed survey to be made by Unesco.

At its meeting in Lausanne on 28 and 29 May 1951, the steering committee of IPSA appointed a sub-committee of three members (Professor D. W. Brogan, Professor Maurice Duverger and Dr. Khosla) to draft the congress' programme of research in this field and to define the working methods. Professor Brogan drew up preliminary proposals which were discussed by the sub-committee when it met in London on 6 November 1951. The general reporter appointed by the sub-committee then prepared a working paper for the guidance of those responsible for drafting the various national reports.

It was decided that the congress should discuss a wider range of countries than those subsequently to be surveyed by Unesco (four only) and that no country should automatically be ruled out of consideration; however, owing to the difficulty of finding suitable persons to draft the national reports in the very short time allowed them for so difficult a task, reports were, in fact, submitted in time by eight countries only: United Kingdom, United States of America,[1] India, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Turkey and Yugoslavia.[2] In addition, a few useful documents were supplied by the United Nations and by the Finnish Political Science Association; and in France (one of the countries selected for the Unesco inquiry) the Association Française de Science Politique itself carried out more exhaustive research, with the technical assistance of a member of the CNRS, and held a special meeting to discuss methods; this work was largely taken into account in the preparation of the present general report.

The report merely sets out to present a provisional survey of the initial information thus assembled, and to define a few problems of method.

1. A second American report was prepared by Dr. Eve Lewis, of the University of South Carolina, and has been taken into account in this general report.
2. Other reports concerning Argentina, Belgium, Egypt, Italy, Japan, the German Federal Republic, Switzerland and Syria, were received by the International Political Science Association after completion of the present document.

PROVISIONAL SURVEY

The aim of this general report is not to attempt a catalogue of the facts set out in the various national reports and other material supplied, but to define a few general trends, emerging from this basic documentation, that might serve as working hypotheses to guide later research. Attention will be confined to the role of women in elections and to their share in the political leadership of the state itself; too little information has yet been assembled with regard to the other fields covered by the preliminary working paper for a similar summing up on these questions to be contemplated at this stage. Besides, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that any hypotheses that might be formulated even in the two fields selected are naturally tentative and largely conjectural. Their only value is that they may indicate the initial lines for a more thorough analysis which will be the only means of assessing their degree of accuracy or error.

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS

Woman suffrage was the first and most important of the political rights demanded by women. This is only natural since the vote is the very source of power under democratic government. Women make up practically half—and often more than half—the electoral body, and in theory they can become a major political influence by exercising the right to vote.

However, it will be noted that only in exceptional cases do the demands of the 'suffragettes' appear to have played a decisive part in securing the vote for women. This extension of the suffrage seems attributable to the two world wars rather than to the work of women's associations. Before the first world war, women had been granted electoral equality with men in only three countries: New Zealand (1889), Finland (1906) and Norway (1913), and in a few individual states of the Australian federation and of the American federation (where Wyoming acted as a pioneer in 1868). Between the two wars, a similar reform was carried through only in the Union of South Africa (1930), Ceylon (1931-34), the Spanish Republic (1931), Turkey (1934), Brazil (1932), Siam (1932), Cuba (1934), Uruguay (1934), Burma (1935), Rumania (1935) and the Philippines (1937). It was during or immediately after the first world war that most of the world's leading countries instituted voting for women: U.S.S.R., the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc. The second world war and the years immediately after saw a great new tide of woman suffrage sweep over other states: France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, India, Japan, China, Mongolia, Argentina, Venezuela, Chile, Israel, etc.

Needless to say, it is of paramount importance to political science to

analyse the practical use women have made of their voting rights. Unfortunately, such an analysis is very difficult on account of the gaps in electoral statistics and also owing to the decided reluctance to arrange for a separate count of men's and women's votes.[1] As no process of direct analysis is possible, we shall therefore have to make an indirect analysis through surveys and opinion research, but such methods raise most delicate problems in this particular field, apart from the fact that they are not very well developed. Great caution must therefore be exercised in view of the shortage of accurate data.

By and large, woman suffrage does not appear to have resulted in any far-reaching changes in the balance of political forces in the countries where it has been introduced. The percentages of votes polled by the parties do not appear to have been substantially affected by this extension of the electoral body. But this is no reason for concluding that the women's vote has not modified political life itself: a distinction must here be drawn between quantitative and qualitative factors. That a party should retain the same percentage of electors before and after the introduction of woman suffrage is one thing; whether it follows the same line of policy is another. It seems to be beyond doubt that the women's vote has brought about certain changes in the content of political programmes and shifts in the centres of party interests. We shall later revert to this essential aspect of women's participation in political life.

Moreover, from the purely quantitative point of view, the introduction of the women's vote still seems to have resulted in certain far from negligible changes; it is not true that women vote in exactly the same way as men.

Smaller Percentage of Women Voting

On the whole, it seems that a slightly higher proportion of women than men abstain from voting. This is a quite unmistakable phenomenon in such countries as Norway which count men's and women's abstentions separately. In Norway, the percentage of votes cast by women in relation to all women voters is always lower than the percentage of votes cast by men in relation to all men voters. At the general elections, this gap has never been less than 7.19 per cent; it was as much as 19.39 per cent in the municipal elections where the maximum difference was 24.1 per cent and the minimum difference 7.7 per cent. In the latter elections, this difference has been steadily reduced, the maximum being in the first elections at which women voted (1901) and the minimum in the last elections (1947). On the other hand, in the general elections, there has been a far less decided narrowing of the gap; curiously enough, during and immediately after the 1914 war it widened considerably.[2]

1. This reluctance will be discussed later as it appears to be of great sociological importance.
2. cf. annex to the Norwegian national report.

In countries where no separate count is taken of women's and men's abstentions, it is more difficult to assess the situation. However, most opinion surveys show a lower percentage of women voters. The preliminary inquiry conducted in Utrecht yielded similar results,[1] but draws some interesting distinctions. There is a higher percentage of women non-voters over 50 and a lower percentage below this age. Although, taking both sexes together, the proportion of abstainers is higher among single than among married persons, this tendency is less marked among women than among men; twice as many single as married women abstain, while the proportion among men is three to one. In the upper income groups there are stlightly fewer women than men non-voters and in the lower groups a far larger proportion; but, on the whole, twice as many women as men abstain.

In the United States of America, opinion seems to be rather divided as to the relative number of women and men abstainers. Most well-informed studies of electoral behaviour in a given area indicate a lower percentage of women voters, though individual authorities and women's groups often claim the reverse, as for instance, the inquiries conducted in 1932 by the League of Women Voters in 12 districts of Minnesota, and described by Dr. Sophonisba Breckenridge;[2] the statements made by the women's divisions of each of the two leading parties after the 1948 elections; and the statement made on 17 June 1952 by Mrs. India Edwards, Vice-President of the National Committee of the Cleveland Democratic Party, to the effect that she believed there to be a higher percentage of women than men voters in the United States as a whole.[3] The Democratic Party has decided to arrange for a separate count of women's abstentions in the 1952 presidential elections.

What factors can account for this smaller percentage of women voters (in so far as it is an accepted fact)? The subject must be approached with great caution. The explanation that naturally springs to the mind, because automatically suggested by the general, still traditional, mentality of present-day society, is that women are less interested in political problems owing to their greater concern with domestic, household or private problems than with the wider interests of the community. In political science we cannot be too wary of such preconceived ideas; it is no less dangerous to accept than to reject them *a priori*. In any case, the fact that there is so small a margin between the percentage of women and men voters limits the scope of the conclusions that might be drawn regarding differences in the general political behaviour of men and women.

It is quite probable that women at present take a less direct interest in political issues than men; this is a fact that appears to have been established fairly clearly by various opinion surveys. But in certain respects, this relative lack of interest in politics seems to be the result of women's more recent

1. cf. the Netherlands national report.
2. S. Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century*, New York, 1932.
3. Quoted in the report by Dr. Eve Lewis.

access to political life. The difference in interest is perhaps attributable to a difference in political maturity. In so far as women are steadily coming to take a greater part in elections, this development is comparable to the increasing participation of men in elections after they had secured suffrage for all adult males. The present difference between the political behaviour of men and women may then be attributable merely to the time factor. Admittedly, such a hypothesis is very difficult to prove, owing to the scarcity of statistical data and to changes in the general political 'context': the special events that account for abstentions change in the course of time, as also the general atmosphere in which elections take place.

However, two facts might be adduced in support of this theory; firstly, there seems to be a far wider difference between women's and men's abstentions in the country than in the towns; secondly, women play a far smaller part in elections than men over 50, but not so under 50. It is true that neither of these facts is universally established. For the former, the Norwegian statistics are our main evidence, and for the latter the survey conducted in Utrecht. These isolated data do not allow of any general conclusion, but it is illuminating that the women apparently playing the least part in elections are those in the country, who are more tied to the traditional way of life and evolve more slowly, and the older women who are naturally more reluctant to adopt new ways. On the other hand, of the younger women and those living in cities, about the same proportion seems to vote as among men.

The theory that the difference is one of political maturity may also be confirmed by the greater instability of the women's vote.

Greater Instability of the Women's Vote

Political scientists who have made a study of elections stress the importance of the 'floating vote'. In the old democracies, there is a noticeable tendency towards a crystallization of political opinions, so that the differences between the number of votes polled by each party from one election to another are eventually very slight. The only variations are to be found in a kind of electoral 'fringe' which is often extremely narrow. It is a matter for conjecture whether there is a higher proportion of women's than men's votes within this 'fringe'.

We actually have very little to go on to answer this question. Probably the clearest indication to the affirmative is that generally a far higher proportion of women than men admit, in opinion surveys, to not having made up their minds. This situation is found to be remarkably constant in the various countries. It is confirmed by the result of the separate count of each sex's votes taken in the State of Illinois in 1916 and 1920, which revealed the marked tendency of women to 'ticket splitting' and their radical change of opinion, leading them to support the Republicans in 1920 whereas they had supported the Democrats in 1916. American monographs on electoral behaviour seem to bear out these observations, and Lazarsfeld's conclusion that

'men are better citizens, but women are more reasoned: if they are not interested they do not vote'[1] is along the same lines. The women's vote thus seems to be more independent than the men's vote, less rooted in party traditions and habits, less hidebound, more 'open-minded' as it were—and thus more unstable and 'floating'.

But, in so far as this conclusion is valid, the facts which suggest it also lead us to suppose that the instability of the women's vote is not so much the result of the sex's inherent character as of its relative political immaturity. Votes are crystallized only in the old democracies where the electors have long been accustomed to voting and have finally developed a regular pattern of political behaviour. The 'floating vote', on the other hand, is far more customary in the countries where the electoral procedure has been recently instituted. Women, as voters, fall into the latter rather than the former category. It is unfortunate that, owing to the lack of reliable data, we cannot determine accurately whether women's votes have become progressively more stable since the first elections at which women voted; in the absence of any such yardstick, the hypothesis just put forward can obviously be accepted only with considerable reservations. It would be desirable to fill in this gap in our knowledge in the years ahead. Such research would be valuable in showing whether the electoral behaviour of women will ultimately be absolutely identical with that of men—once they have equal political maturity —or whether an inevitable difference will still remain, attributable to the different nature of women.

More Conservative Character of the Women's Vote

Like the foregoing, this hypothesis is based on a small number of facts and must accordingly be regarded as tentative. However, it seems to have a slightly greater degree of probability as there are more facts to bear it out. The more conservative character of the women's vote is referred to in both Dr. J. J. de Jong's report on the Netherlands and in the American report by Louise M. Young. It is further supported by several public opinion surveys. In France, for instance, it has been clearly brought to light by the regular surveys which have been conducted by the IFOP (French Public Opinion Institute) since 1945. There is a very small proportion of women as against men who vote for the Communist and the Socialist parties, and a very high proportion who vote for the moderate parties and the RPF (Rassemblement du Peuple Français); in the centre, a high proportion of women vote for the MRP (Mouvement Républicain Populaire)—owing to its religious tendency—and a very small percentage for the Radicals. The importance of these results, however, is somewhat lessened by the fact that there is a far higher proportion of floating voters among women than among men; if these women finally voted for the left-wing parties, the proportions would be very dif-

1. *The People's Choice*, N.4.1948. Quoted in the American national report.

ferent. But in any case they could not be reversed; and it is fairly probable that, among the women who at first cannot make up their minds, a higher percentage finally vote Right than Left.

The importance of an accurate verification of this hypothesis that the women's vote is more conservative, and of an analysis of the factors responsible for this trend, needs no stressing. We have referred to the influence of the religious factor in this connexion. In France, it is common knowledge that the fear of religious influence was the decisive factor which led the Senate to oppose woman suffrage under the Third Republic. This reasoning was not entirely without foundation, since the IFOP's surveys have shown that it is the MRP and moderate parties which chiefly benefit from this vote whilst the chief loser is the Radical Party, which led this opposition in the Senate before 1939. In the Netherlands, opinion surveys also indicate a slight preference on the part of women for the religious parties. It would be interesting to determine whether this influence of the religious factor is greater in the Catholic than in the Protestant countries, or weighs more heavily in favour of the Catholic than the Protestant parties within any one country.

However, the religious influence should not be overestimated. It seems to be linked up with another more general factor, namely, that the proportion of women non-voters is smaller in the upper-income groups than in the poorer classes. This phenomenon was mentioned in the Netherlands report and various papers referred to in the American report, and warrants more exhaustive study. In so far as it is an established fact, the more conservative character of the women's vote might be a purely temporary phenomenon which will tend to disappear, along with the other phenomena to which we have previously referred. The progressive reduction of women's abstentions in the working classes would then reduce the percentage of conservative women's votes. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the higher proportion of countrywomen non-voters, revealed by electoral statistics in Norway, limits the scope of these latter observations. As the vote in country areas is usually more conservative, the high percentage of countrywomen abstainers at present weakens the conservative character of the women's vote. As such abstentions are progressively reduced, there will be a corresponding increase in the conservative character of women's votes. This trend may, to some extent, offset the opposite trend resulting from a reduction of women's abstentions in the working classes.

Also the more conservative character of the women's vote is lessened by the marked tendency for husband and wife to vote like. The Netherland's report, on the basis of opinion surveys, estimates that 92 per cent of women vote the same way as their husbands. Differences in voting are thus restricted mainly to single persons of both sexes.

SHARE IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

In democratic theory, participation in elections and in political leadership mean much the same, since the people is governed through its elected representatives. In practice, the two things are far from being identical, and influence on the choice of the members of the government is by no means tantamount to influence on governmental action itself—although the first obviously plays some part in the second. In many countries, for instance, the institution of universal suffrage did not immediately result in any real participation of the people as a whole, in the running of the state, since the people, having no leaders of their own, confirmed the traditional political leaders in their office.

In many respects, women may be said to occupy a similar position in most of the countries where they have secured the right to vote; on the whole, they still take an extremely small direct part in governmental activities. However, this external aspect of the problem is not enough to account for the whole situation, since the participation of women in elections really appears to have been instrumental in bringing about a certain change in political mentality, which in turn exerts an appreciable direct influence on the conduct of political leaders.

Small Number of Women Included Among the Persons Associated with the Government

On the whole, woman suffrage has done little to wrest from men their monopoly of political leadership; there is so small a proportion of women among the persons associated with the Government, that, quantitatively, their influence may be almost disregarded.

Apart from the U.S.S.R. where women make up over 17 per cent of the Supreme Soviet, the maximum percentage of women elected to the various parliaments seems to be about 5. And it is a maximum that is seldom attained; although the Netherlands Chamber of Deputies has an average of 5 to 6 per cent of women, only 3.6 per cent were elected to the French National Assembly in 1951, 4 per cent to the Norwegian Parliament after the second world war (previously an average of 2 per cent), a maximum of 3 per cent in the British House of Commons, 2 per cent to the United States Congress, and so on.

In the local and municipal bodies, the proportion is seldom higher and often lower. In the United States of America, the state legislatures include only 3 per cent of women; in the Netherlands, the proportion is 5 per cent for the provincial states and 2 per cent for the municipal councils. In France, women make up 3 per cent of the municipal councils, but 0.5 per cent of the departmental councils (17 women out of a total membership of 3,028). At the governmental level, women play an even smaller part. Though we cannot give any percentages—which, moreover, would be meaningless in view of

the small number of ministerial posts—we would point out that, in 1949, out of 59 countries where women had the right to vote, women held ministerial office in only 11; none of these countries was a leading power; no country had more than one woman minister; and Rumania was the only country where the ministerial office held by a woman was of any real political importance (foreign affairs). At the same date, only four countries had a woman ambassador or minister plenipotentiary.

Not only is an extremely small proportion of women admitted to association with the government, but the number does not appear to be increasing. On the contrary, in the countries where women's right to vote was recognized over 30 years ago, there is a decided tendency towards a stabilization of the number of women members of parliament—after an initial surge in the years immediately following the electoral reform. In the United States of America, the number of women members of Congress has settled down at between 8 and 11 since 1930; in Great Britain, the figure has tended to range between 15 and 20 since the same date, dropping to 9 in 1935 and rising to 23 in 1945; in the Netherlands, it has varied between 7 and 3 since 1922, the highest figures (6 and 7) being prior to 1933 and the lowest figures since that date. Just as the two world wars played an important part in instituting woman suffrage, they occasionally resulted in increased participation by women in parliamentary activity. In Norway, for instance, the number of women members of Parliament rose from 3 to 7; in Great Britain from 9 to 23; in the United States of America, the number of women elected to the State legislatures, which had varied between 124 and 149 from 1925 to 1941, rose to 211-233 in the period between 1945 and 1952. A certain tendency towards a subsequent decrease in these numbers is observable; the British House of Commons included 23 women in 1945, 21 in 1950 and 17 in 1951; in France, the number of women deputies, after rising to 30-39 in 1945-46, dropped to 23 in the 1951 elections. Admittedly, in both cases, this decrease in the number of women members of Parliament coincides with a change in the overall representation of the various parties.[1]

This last feature is important, for it reveals a quite evident connexion between the extent of women's inclusion among the persons associated with the government and the nature of the political parties. It is, in fact, the clearest correlation that it has been possible to establish in this field, for, apart from the Soviet Union, to which we shall return later, there is no very perceptible difference between the various countries in the extent of this inclusion. On the contrary, there is no sign of its being wider even in the countries which are traditionally looked upon as being more favourable to feminist claims and to the political equality of the sexes. For instance, one of the smallest proportions of women members of parliament (2 per cent) is

1. In Great Britain, however, the number of women Labour M.P.'s has fallen proportionately more than the total Labour parliamentary representation: from 1945 to 1951, the former fell from 21 to 11 and the latter from 390 to 315.

to be found in the United States of America, and this figure is the same as that for pre-1939 Norway (although Norway was one of the first countries to give women the vote). Thus, the Protestant Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries have, on the average, a smaller percentage of women members of parliament than Catholic and Latin France, although the French woman was one of the latest to acquire political rights. Thus, there seems to be no connexion between the intensity of the feminist outlook in a country and the extent to which women are associated with the Government.

The connexion between the latter and the character of the political parties is, on the other hand, obvious. On the whole, it is the left-wing parties, particularly the Socialist and Communist parties, which have done most to increase the number of women entering Parliament or holding office in the government—an attitude which may well appear paradoxical, since women electors, as we have seen, are, in the majority, conservative. One might almost say that parties which do the most for women are the parties for which women do the least. France offers a striking example in this respect. It was the advent to power of the Socialists in 1936 that brought the first two women into the Government as Under-Secretaries of State, though women at that time did not even have the vote. From 1945 onwards, it has been the Communist Party that has done the most to advance the parliamentary representation of women. Of the 30 women elected to the 1945 Constituent Assembly and the 32 elected to that of 1946, 17 belonged to the Communist Party; they formed more than 11 per cent of its deputies. In the National Assembly elected in 1946, 28 of the 39 women deputies were Communist and represented 17 per cent of the total number of Communist deputies. In the Assembly returned by the 1951 elections, 16 of the 23 women deputies were Communists, and represented this time 15.5 per cent of the Communist deputies. Yet the various public opinion surveys carried out since the Liberation by the French Public Opinion Institute concur in showing that, of all the parties, the Communist Party is that which numbers the smallest proportion of women voters.

This predominance of the left-wing parties in the movement for the extension of women's representation in parliament is observable in many other countries. Of the 7 women deputies in the present Norwegian Storting, 6 are Socialists. Of the 17 women M.P.'s in the British House of Commons, 11 are Labour. The only woman member of the Netherlands Upper House is a Socialist and the Netherlands Socialist Party is the only one which has always had at least one woman member in the Lower House since 1918. The proportion of women in the membership and the executive committees of the parties is, in fact, higher among the Socialist parties than the others.

A second type of party is also working to extend the parliamentary representation of women—the Catholic and Christian Democrat parties. In France, for instance, the MRP (Mouvement Républicain Populaire) comes immediately after the Communist Party in the proportion of its women deputies since 1946; the Socialist Party occupies only the third place and the other

parties may be disregarded. In the Netherlands, the Catholic Party vies with the Socialist Party in this respect; the number of their women members is almost equal in parliament, as well as in the provincial councils, where it considerably exceeds that of the other parties. In this case, however, there is not the same disparity between the proportion of women members of parliament and the proportion of women electors, for it is precisely the Catholic parties which draw the maximum of women's votes in the two states mentioned. Incidentally, their endeavours to increase the extent to which women are associated with the government do not seem to be based on the same philosophical outlook as that of the Socialist and Communist parties. Finally, mention should be made of a third type of party which is attempting to increase women's parliamentary representation. This is the new style of party exemplified by General de Gaulle's Rassemblement du Peuple Français (RPF). Of the 90 members of the Paris Municipal Council, 14 are women; and of these 14, 9 belong to the RPF (which has 52 councillors) and 5 to the Communist Party (which has 25).

The extent of women's representation also seems to depend on the electoral system. On the whole, systems where a complete party ticket is voted for, particularly where there is proportional representation, seem to favour women's representation more than do single-member constituencies. In the five Western countries on which information was collected for the present report, the three which have proportional representation (France, Norway and the Netherlands), have a percentage of women members slightly higher than the two where voting is by single-member constituencies (Great Britain and the United States). This argument, however, has no very great force, for the percentage in Norway was much smaller before 1940 and that in the Netherlands was taken from too small a Parliament. The elections for the French Departmental Councils are far more significant. Whereas the proportion of women deputies is 3.6 per cent and that of women municipal councillors 3 per cent, the proportion of women departmental councillors is as low as 0.5 per cent. There is no possibility of denying the influence of the electoral system here, for departmental councillors are elected on a relative majority with two ballots, a method which gives the contest a personal character[1] that seems to militate against women candidates.

Another interesting point is that the increase of women's representation seems to be biggest where the voter has the least choice. We have seen that the possibility of striking out names from a party ticket and replacing them from another (panachage) seems less favourable to women candidates than to men. Corroborative evidence would seem to be offered by the U.S.S.R. where there is a relatively high proportion of women deputies and only one candidate for each seat. A similar example of the same kind is afforded by the fact that of the 19 women members of the French Council of the Republic in

1. In the relative majority single-ballot system of Great Britain or America, the two-party system offsets this personal element.

1946,[1] 12 were nominated by the parties (in proportion to their 'unused' votes on the departmental level) or co-opted by the National Assembly. Finally, the only women who have ever held the position of Head of State have succeeded to it by inheritance. History records many queens, but not a single woman president, and there is no sign of this state of affairs changing in the near future.

The women who are associated with the government are not representative of the female population at large; the proportion among them of spinsters or childless women being far higher, since family ties form one of the main obstacles to political activity, as is pointed out in both the Netherlands and the Yugoslav reports. Similarly, the proportion of women pursuing an independent profession appears to be higher among those who take part in political life; on this point, the Norwegian report remarks that many women candidates describe themselves as 'housewives', even when they have a profession, merely in order to draw their fellow women's votes. But similar types of camouflage, and a similar social disparity between representatives and those they represent, are also to be found among men.

Indirect Influence on Political Life

Generally speaking then, women cannot exercise any real influence on parliaments because of the very small number who are members. Further, they are generally kept out of the cabinet and are a small minority in the executive committees of the political parties. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that their participation in the political running of the state is more symbolic than real.

Does this mean that they have no influence on the action taken by the Government and that their winning of the suffrage was a purely illusory victory? Such a judgment would surely be mistaken, for it would confuse the personality of ministers and members of parliament with their acts, and the character of the leaders with the trend of their policy. An inquiry into the influence of women on economic life would be incomplete and misleading if it were confined to examining the extent of their stockholdings and the number of woman who hold posts as company directors. It would also have to take into account the basic part played by women in the moulding of demand, which is clearly evidenced by the fact that advertising is mainly addressed to them. In the same way, an analysis of women's participation in political life should take into account their influence on the nature of the problems with which governments have to cope or the solutions which are put forward for them. The fact that woman suffrage has only seen a small minority of women installed in governmental posts does not prove that their influence on political life has been small and ineffective, if their exercise of the vote has simultaneously resulted in modifying the outlook

1. Not including those from the overseas constituencies.

of the political leaders, the nature of the problems they work on and the practical solutions they adopt.

An inquiry of this kind would obviously be as difficult as it would be far-reaching because of the imponderable nature of the factors involved. There are good grounds for believing, however, that this indirect influence of women on politics has been considerable. Certain legislative measures and other governmental actions have plainly been take under pressure from feminine public opinion. Most American observers, for instance, believe that women in the United States exercised a great influence in the matter of prohibition. It is also probable that in France their influence was instrumental in securing the closing of brothels. From a broader standpoint, the pressure of feminine public opinion can undoubtedly be detected behind the present evolution of laws regarding children, the family, hygiene, public health, educational and kindred topics. It will be observed that women members of municipal councils, parliaments or governments usually concern themselves with these questions, on which they speedily gain a certain authority. There thus comes into being what might be called a specific feminine political sphere, whose importance would appear to be growing. Further investigations would go some way to clarifying its extent and evolution in the various countries. In all probability, the economic problems of everyday life, and particularly those concerning the prices of the more common foodstuffs, are also sensitive to this feminine influence, as public opinion surveys suggest.

Women's right to vote has undoubtedly played a decisive part in this gradual change in the nature of governmental problems, for the ballot paper has given them an evident means of exerting pressure. The very fact that the women's vote seems to be more floating than the men's, and that, with women much more than with men, the choice of a candidate seems to be influenced by their practical interest in particular questions, obviously increases their influence in this respect. But the effect of this direct electoral pressure is probably limited, since women, as has been noted, do not generally seem to vote very differently from men. The problem is, therefore, to determine to what extent men's (and women's) votes in general are subject to the influence of women. The statement that 92 per cent of women in the Netherlands vote in the same way as their husbands, doest not necessarily mean that they take their opinions from their husbands, for the reverse may easily be true. To be more precise, this identical behaviour of husband and wife is the result of a reciprocal influence in which it is essential to determine the part the woman plays. Here the problem of her participation in political life links up with the changes that are taking place in the way of life as a whole and of the overall increase of women's influence in social life. This influence is probably greater in private than in political life (where the survival of a traditional outlook will be referred to later), but it is impossible to separate one from the other.

PROBLEMS OF METHOD

We shall pay less attention here to the methods employed in the collection of the preliminary data contained in the various national reports and the present general report than to those that will be needed for the further conduct of the inquiry undertaken by Unesco. The first have of necessity been hasty, on account of the very limited time allowed to the reporters for the preparation of their reports and of the absence of funds for the purpose. In most cases the reporters have had to confine themselves to collecting already existing documents and have not been able to fill in gaps by direct inquiry. On the other hand, it is essential that the methods used for the second purpose should be as thorough as possible. The discussions on problems of method at The Hague congress therefore assume an outstanding importance. There will be no attempt in the present report to make an assessment with regard to this question, as has been attempted heretofore. The report will confine itself to making suggestions and putting forward themes for discussion, by way of example and with no desire to circumscribe the field.

Before going into a few of the particular types of research suitable for use in this sphere, it would seem necessary to examine what might be called 'the overall approach to the problem'. From whatever standpoint it is considered, women's participation in the political life of a given society cannot be separated from the general concept which that society holds of the role of women. All the specialist analyses, statistical, monographical, and so forth, should be focused in this general light; if they are to be significant, they must not be separated from their 'ideo-social' context.

THE IDEO-SOCIAL CONTEXT AND THE OVERALL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

Women's participation in political life brings into play deep-rooted social beliefs, which are often unconscious and as often repressed, but which are none the less present and which give the problem an emotional overtone which may be more or less pronounced. It is a clear challenge to an anti-feminist tradition which has indisputably lost ground since the beginning of the century, and particularly since the end of the first world war, but which remains quite strong, though it varies considerably from country to country. Women's participation in political life takes the form of an attempt to substitute for an ideo-social system which considered feminine activity as belonging strictly to the sphere of family and private life, a new system which concedes the complete equality of the sexes in every field. But though this equality is penetrating more and more into the statute books, particularly with regard to politics, it has not yet won acceptance in the people's thought and customs. There is not a little truth in the assertion that women's participation in political life is at the moment ahead of ideo-social evolution;

it is in all probability less a consequence of a transformation of behaviour than an anticipation of this transformation and a factor likely to speed it up.

The Anti-feminist Tradition

The clash between modern concepts of women's participation in political life and anti-feminist traditions is strikingly illustrated by the discussions to which the problem of women's right to vote and their access to political life in general has given rise in the Islamic countries. In Egypt, for instance, a lively controversy is at the moment raging on the subject. In the Far Eastern countries, the political emancipation of women has also roused strong opposition, whether based on religion or not, in traditionalist circles. If such conflicts are less marked in the West, if they often remain unconscious or semi-unconscious, that does not mean that they do not exist. Though the primacy of men in the political field and the restriction of women to family and private activities was in general less glaring there even before the birth of the feminist movement, they still exerted a considerable influence. And the growth of that movement has not completely eradicated them even in the countries where it has reached its zenith.

Admittedly, this anti-feminist mentality remains stronger in the Latin than in the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic countries. Again, the economic emancipation of women also tends to hasten a change in customs, but this is still fairly limited. It is the exception for women who are economically independent to be more than a small minority; and economic independence has no more succeeded in banishing a general mentality born of a tradition dating back thousands of years than has the conquest of political rights.

Public opinion as a whole, thus seems hardly favourable to the political activity of women. Alain has given a good picture of these traces of primitive mentality which look upon war as a 'man's show', and it is a similar outlook that causes politics to be regarded as a man's affair. The club, the debating society, the forum, parliament, political life in general, are still looked on as typical masculine activities. Women's share in them is generally 'symbolic'; it is rather an attempt to change this 'for men only' attitude than the consequence of a change that has already taken place. Symptomatic of this is the fact that in a great many countries, the granting of woman suffrage has been the result of a decree issued by the executive or a revolutionary measure enacted by a provisional government in the form of an order-in-council and later ratified by a Parliament elected under its provisions. This was the case in Soviet Russia, Germany (in 1918 and again in 1945), Austria, Poland, Republican Spain, Cuba, France, Italy, Israel, Venezuela,[1] etc.

In the same connexion, it will be remembered that the increase in women candidates at elections has been greater under electoral systems of the pro-

1. There is only one country (the Philippines in 1935) where women were called on by a special referendum to decide whether they wanted the vote; they accepted it by a ten-to-one majority.

portional representation type, where the personality of the candidate matters less, than in the single-member constituency systems, where it is of great importance. An instance of this is afforded in France, where women candidates for the departmental councils, which are elected in single-member constituencies, are very few by comparison with those for Parliament or the town councils, where a list of candidates is voted for. The reason is surely that the parties, unconsciously sensitive to this latent opposition of public opinion, do not want to weaken their position when they go before the electorate by entrusting their case to advocates against whom they know a certain prejudice exists. The British report concurs when it notes that in Great Britain (which has single-member constituencies), parties tend to give women candidates hopeless constituencies; the report explains the fact by men's wish to keep the whip-hand over the electoral committees. But is not the parties' determination to ensure themselves of every chance of victory another and perhaps more important factor in the phenomenon? There is room for inquiry, while on this topic, whether female candidatures are not turned down even more systematically for uncertain constituencies than they are for safe seats.

An observation made in the Norwegian report bears out the above contention. It points out that in elections where voting is for a list, under the *panachage* system, voters more often strike out the names of women than of men candidates. It seems a fact that public opinion normally prefers being represented by a man than by a woman. Even in the United States of America, where the political equality of men and women has undoubtedly reached a higher pitch than elsewhere, it is inconceivable that either of the two great parties should nominate a woman as candidate for the Presidency.

The Resistance of Feminine Opinion

It seems, moreover, that feminine public opinion does not differ much in this respect from general opinion. It is true that women have accepted the vote and that they exercise it with almost as much keenness as men, though there is a slightly higher proportion of non-voters among them. But they made very little effort to win it; with rare exceptions, the suffragist movement was the work of active minorities, which drew little support from women as a whole. Even today, little has been done to organize women's associations concerned with purely political issues. The proportion of women who take up party membership is much smaller than that of men, and women voters' organizations number a tiny proportion of their potential subscribers; even in the United States, the League of Women Voters, though it is looked on as powerful, has today only 100,000 women voters in its ranks (50,000 in 1944)[1] out of the total 51 million.

1. According to 'Women in the United States', in *The Document of the Fortnight*, published by the Official United States Information Service, no. 55, 1 March 1952.

Furthermore, women do not seem to like women candidates any more than do men. Certain Norwegian observers believe that in voting for a list of candidates, women more often strike out women candidates' names than do men. It seems important to check on the extent to which this assertion is supported by the facts and to ascertain whether women voters display a similar attitude in other countries. The Netherlands report very aptly stresses the essential element in this feminine resistance to political life. The ideal of every Dutch girl or woman, it points out, is to marry, have a family and concentrate her activity on her husband and her children, so that many of them look on politics as 'man's natural sphere'. We may or may not agree with this conception, but political science must reckon with the fact that it is almost certainly shared by most women in most countries—even though it is noticeably losing ground. What might thus be called the anti-feminist outlook of a great number of women probably forms the most formidable obstacle to the extension of their participation in political life.

It would be a mistake, however, to under-estimate the importance of the economic factor. The fact that the proportion of non-voters among women appears to be smaller in the higher than in the lower income groups, whereas the reverse is true for men, deserves careful analysis. It would seem that the preoccupation with family and domestic life, which is over-burdening among women of the poorer classes, forms an obstacle to outside interests and to the development of political consciousness. With a rise in the income level, this economic social pressure lessens, and integration into a social unit larger than that of the family becomes easier. In the particular case of women, as in general, the emergence of real political freedom is thus linked up with a rise in the standard of living.

Emphasis should also be laid on the great importance of the changes that have taken place in the content of political problems. We are here faced with a tangle of actions and reciprocal reactions. Women's participation in political life has undoubtedly contributed to the increased interest taken by governments in the problems of children, the family, hygiene, morality and so on. We have already remarked on this indirect influence of women on political life. But, conversely, the increased place allocated to these problems in the activities of governments naturally stimulates women's interest in political life and offsets, at least in part, the inhibiting effect of anti-feminist mentality or economic pressure.

Effects on Participation in Political Life

This general resistance of public opinion, combined with the particular resistance of women themselves, seems to have certain effects on the participation of women in political life.

In the first place, the feminist movement sometimes assumes some of the sociological characteristics of a minority movement, of a protest by an oppressed people. The leaders of feminist movements, who are active and

politically conscious personalities, are constantly coming up against the apathy of the masses they attempt to sweep along with them. Although women form the majority of the electorate in many countries and a minority only just under 50 per cent in others, the campaign for the advancement of their political rights is in practice led by a small minority, whom that very fact makes more sensitive to any discriminatory measure. The fact that the word 'discriminatory' is so often used in this connexion is symptomatic of this minority consciousness. A scientific inquiry cannot ignore this phenomenon, for it forms both an element of the problem and an added difficulty in the way of its solution. Thus there is some danger that a special investigation into the political behaviour of women may be regarded by its subjects as having a discriminatory character. In this connexion, it is interesting to note the criticism, voiced by a distinguished feminist, of the suggestion made in the congress' preparatory working-paper that character analyses should be made of women occupying positions of political leadership. 'Since such a step has never been contemplated with regard to men politicians', she said, 'this suggestion would certainly be described as a discriminatory measure'.

The reserves with regard to a separate count of men's and women's votes, which appear in the Norwegian report and which were expressed in the discussions of the Association Française de Science Politique, are linked up with the same phenomenon. For the argument that it would be a violation of the secrecy of the ballot obviously has no validity, since the secrecy guaranteed is that of the individual ballot and not of the total votes polled by a social category. There would be no more violation of the secrecy of the ballot in counting men's and women's votes separately than there is in counting separately the votes of town and country areas, wealthy districts and working class suburbs. A member of the French Association put the real argument of the opponents of the system very clearly when he compared the use of separate ballot boxes for men and women to that of separate ballot boxes for negroes and white men in countries with racial minorities. That is to say, he voiced a fear of discrimination based on the conception of women as an oppressed minority, a view which incidentally is in itself an unconscious discrimination. This opposition to a separate count of votes appears to be as strong among men as it is in feminist circles. It may well be asked whether this does not point to the existence of a more or less unconscious masculine mentality of domination which would be the exact corollary of the feminine minority mentality; the aim would be to maintain the fiction of women 'voting like men', of women's right to vote 'leaving things exactly as they were before', by preventing any definite test of the originality and the possible independence of the political behaviour of women. However that may be, every possible precaution will obviously have to be taken to safeguard the strictly scientific and objective character of the inquiry and to prevent this feeling of discrimination from standing in the way of the exhaustive research which is necessary if the inquiry is to succeed.

In the second place, it seems that this resistance of public opinion can be linked up with the somewhat divergent lines followed by party propaganda in regard to women's participation in political life. In many European countries it has been observed that the two groups of parties most active in this respect are the Socialist and the Communist parties on the one hand and the Catholic or neo-Conservative parties on the other. The ideological and doctrinal substratum of their feminist attitude seems to be fundamentally different in these two groups. For the first group, women's participation in political life follows from an equalitarian and individualist philosophy, which asserts the fundamental identity of man and woman and the absolute equality of their rights. Women should participate in political life as citizens, on the same conditions and in the same way as all other citizens. For the second group, on the contrary, women's participation in political life is based on their special role in society and on its importance. They should act as mothers and wives, as the natural guardians and defenders of the family unit. Equality of rights is a means of asserting the equal importance of woman's role with man's in the life of the nation, but not of denying the difference between the two, which is regarded as fundamental. Such a bare summary cannot give a true picture of the situation; it merely suggests its broad outlines. The first attitude amounts to an outright opposition to the anti-feminist current in traditional public opinion; the second seeks to direct it into a new channel rather than doing away with it, to transform it rather than destroy it. Here again, these over-simplified formulae do not take into account all the complexity of the facts.

It is incidentally interesting to remark that a certain shifting seems to have begun in what might be called left-wing feminism, which is bringing it nearer to Catholic and neo-Conservative party feminism. In the various Communist parties, for instance, emphasis is increasingly being laid on woman's part as a mother, wife, and manager of family life; 'housewives' committees' are beginning to take precedence over strictly political women's bodies, and action in the social, family, health and moral field is put in the forefront of feminist propaganda. In the Socialist parties, particularly the Nordic Socialist parties, a similar evolution is taking place. This realistic policy is very likely based on the general attitude of public opinion with regard to the political activity of women described above; it is also a tribute to its strength.

In any case, it would seem that a study of feminist ideology and of its evolution would be capable of furnishing the inquiry with very interesting data. At the same time, it is necessary to stress the particular difficulty it offers from the point of view of scientific objectivity.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

We shall confine ourselves here to submitting a few suggestions and to point-

ing out a number of special research techniques without any attempt to circumscribe the field by this brief review. Far from it; it is essential that every form of social analysis should be enlisted in the inquiry, setting aside any divergencies between schools of thought or differences of view in universities.

The first task before us, though not necessarily the easiest, is to collect the fullest possible statistical information. Attention has already been drawn to certain gaps in electoral statistics. Norway is the only country which regularly publishes separate figures for men and women non-voters, though it is quite easy to ascertain these on the basis of electoral registers. The General Reporter's personal opinion is that this is not sufficient and that consideration should be given to a separate count of the votes of both sexes. This would imply the provision of two sets of ballot boxes or of polling booths, which has more than once been tried out on a limited scale without raising any difficulties, as, for instance, in Illinois from 1916 to 1920 and in Cologne from 1919 on.[1] This system not only offers the scientific advantage of providing a definite answer to an important question; it would also promote the development of political consciousness among women voters by enabling them to appreciate in practical form their influence and their independence. There does not seem to be anything in electoral laws or democratic principles to stand in the way of this system, which could be tried out at by-elections so as to get the public gradually accustomed to it.

While we are on the subject of electoral statistics, reference should be made to a type which is all too often neglected: those of social elections (voting for shop stewards, members of works committees and administrators of the social insurance system, and so on). Their importance was very properly emphasized in the discussions of the Association Française de Science Politique, and to the extent that an analysis of women's voting in them is possible, it might yield very interesting results. Statistics of trade union or party membership would be just as important, but people will not always answer questions on the subject, nor can there be any certainty that their replies are accurate.

Public opinion surveys provide some help in filling up the gaps in statistics. Indeed we possess a considerable store of information in the surveys already conducted. Unhappily, where politics are concerned, they do not always make a sufficiently clear distinction between the attitude of men and women, and it would be worth while drawing the attention of the organizers of surveys to this point. Moreover, the fact that the percentage of persons questioned who have not made up their minds is always fairly high among women considerably reduces the clarity of the results in the field with which we are concerned. Despite the difficulties, consideration must be given to the carrying out of special surveys for the Unesco inquiry.

Fuller and more precise specialist studies will afford an opportunity of adding in certain fields to the overall data collected by the foregoing

1. This system was recently introduced in Argentina for the general elections.

methods. We are thinking just as much of the specialist studies carried out by somewhat empirical methods (for instance, an analysis of the political influence of women in a village), as of more systematic investigations, 'case studies', analyses of samples and so forth. Such investigations will have to be conducted not only within individual localities but within social units based on community of occupation or ideas, such as women's associations and 'pressure groups'. Studies of the mechanism of authority within women's organizations, for instance, will provide the inquiry with invaluable data. There will be plenty of room, too, for historical studies: women's activities in countries at war and their participation in the Resistance cannot be passed over. Lastly, a special analysis of the religious factor in political life is obviously very important; in this field, use might be made of methods similar to those employed in France by Professor Gabriel Le Bras and his assistants. Needless to say, all these suggestions are offered as examples and need supplementing.

The working paper suggested that an attempt should be made to carry out a character analysis of women who are taking an active part in political life, who are associated with the government, or leaders of women's organizations. The questionnaires used for this purpose could be modelled on that of Heymans and Wiersma. The aim of the inquiry would be to ascertain how far a type of character is correlative with the exercise of political authority. It is true that an analysis of this type would not be carried very far owing to the margin of uncertainty in this field and the lack of precise information on the distribution of the various character types among the female population. All the same, it seems to be of indisputable interest. Reference has already been made to the objection that such an inquiry would be a discriminatory one, since no similar investigation of men political leaders has yet been carried out. There, of course, is the flaw; valuable light would be shed on the general problem of leadership by the application of this technique to all leaders, irrespective of their sex. In order to avoid the criticism, then, it would be well if, in the countries to be surveyed by Unesco, a study of this kind could be carried out on general lines, covering men as well as women leaders. Comparison of the results for both sexes would lend it additional interest.

It would also be of value to try to get as clear an idea as possible of the real attitude of public opinion in general and women's public opinion in particular on the participation of women in political life. Public opinion surveys and direct inquiries do not appear capable of yielding more than fragmentary data on this problem; they make no allowances for the whole complex of mental attitudes which we have attempted to outline above, albeit in a hasty and empirical fashion. On this question, a systematic study of the press, and especially of the popular press, seems to be of the highest importance. It would yield a whole mass of information, whose tremendous scope might well cause alarm, but whose analysis should be as fruitful as it would be difficult.

The inquiry, as contemplated, is very far-reaching and thorough. In practice, it will undoubtedly prove necessary to confine it within more modest bounds. But the General Reporter's view is that this investigation by Unesco is only the second stage of a study of which the work of the Congress was the first. Far from expecting to exhaust the question, it will set out with the main idea of opening up new avenues, of stimulating curiosity and of leading to fresh studies. If, however, the Unesco project is really to fulfil this object of serving as an example, it is essential that it should be carried out on the necessary scale. The main obstacle would obviously be financial, since the organization of public opinion surveys, inquiries and specialist analyses implies the co-ordinated endeavours of a host of research workers.

III. THE POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN FRANCE

Results of a public opinion survey carried out on behalf of Unesco in June 1953

by the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique, Paris

There are various ideas as to what is the meaning of 'a role in political life'. The International Political Science Association, at The Hague congress was, for instance, mainly interested in the political role of a small minority of individuals devoting the major part of their time and energies to political life. For the purposes of this survey, we are concerned with the most elementary aspects of political life, i.e. those which should concern all a country's citizens. This means, in the first place, electoral behaviour, since it is by exercising the right to vote that the individual has an official part in political life, but it also includes all those aspects of the individual's psychological and social make-up which are more or less closely related to the vote, i.e. attraction to, or dislike of certain parties, programmes, or political personalities, interest in institutions, events and men, efforts to be well informed, standard of political knowledge, attitude in regard to politics in general, to the different aspects of political activity, to public or private discussions, to the work of the fighting wing, etc.

Viewed in this light, the part played in political life is merely one aspect of that played in community life as a whole and we cannot hope, in a single investigation, to cover all the important factors which have a direct bearing on it. Some of them can be studied from the results of public opinion polls which the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique has carried out in France since its foundation. A rough analysis of data collected in the course of some hundred surveys conducted since 1944 has made it possible to publish elsewhere a first collection of experimental material on the political role of French women.

We have therefore tried, in this investigation to avoid any questions which might overlap with those on which we already have data, such as the standard of knowledge of political affairs. As this was the first public opinion poll entirely concerned with the problems of the political role of French women, it was necessary to keep the questionnaire fairly general. As it was also a contribution to the research work carried out by the International Political Science Association under the auspices of Unesco, we have tried to use it as a means of verifying working hypotheses which could not be adequately established from the statistics already existing.

These hypotheses related to the following questions, among others:

Women take a smaller part in political life; in particular, the proportion of non-voters is higher for the female than for the male electorate.

In general, husband and wife vote in the same way.

The woman's vote is generally more conservative than the man's, the difference being due to the votes of unmarried women, widows and divorcees.

Women's family responsibilities are a factor limiting their part in political life.

The employment of women is a factor which encourages them to take a part in politics.

The woman's vote is less stable than the man's.

More generally, the object was to study the causes or occasions of variation in women's political role; sociological factors such as the size of the place where they live, age, occupational category, etc.; psychological factors such as woman's idea of herself, the idea instilled by the community, masculine prejudice, feminist or anti-feminist attitudes.

In the pilot investigation (carried out before the questionnaire for the survey is finally drawn up) efforts were made to find, among the various points in the questionnaire indicative of the part played in political life, a body of classifiable reactions conforming to the Guttman scaling system. The object was to fix a quantitative variable indicative of the political role, in the sense in which this term is used here, by which all the persons questioned could be graded on a single scale from maximum to minimum participation. Although, however, there are partial relationships between several of the questions asked in the investigation, it was not found possible, during this preliminary survey, to develop a comprehensive system of scaling.

The body of reactions observed, and considered as a priori indications of the part played in political life, is not, therefore, governed by a few related components or factors, but by almost as many factors as there are points studied. The only effective way of discovering determinant components, if the conclusions drawn from the pilot survey are acceptable, is therefore to introduce into the study points which have previously been ignored. Until this is done, it is necessary, in using the results for statistical purposes, to abandon the idea of an overall approach to the whole problem of women's political role by means of one variable or a few variables. Since it has shown the heterogeneous character of the elements chosen as aspects of the concept of the 'political role', the preliminary survey, while it obviously does not prevent our looking for correlations, makes an analytical approach to the results essential.

In the first part of what follows, we shall give an analysis of the results, contrasting men's and women's reactions. In the second, we shall investigate the causes or occasions of variation in the different aspects of women's political role.

THE PART PLAYED BY MEN AND WOMEN IN POLITICAL LIFE

All the points included in this inquiry as indicative of the part played in political life show clearly that women play a smaller part than men. Interest in political events, activities and institutions (as shown spontaneously in answer to a general question or in answer to the direct question 'Are you interested in politics?), taste for political discussions, knowledge of the results of the last municipal elections, and, finally, the proportion of voters, are always smaller among women than amon men. Analysis of the results will show where the difference is largest, and also to what extent women are less politically mature, less politically conscious.

INTEREST IN POLITICS

The proportion of men who said they were interested in politics is almost three times as great as that of women.

Are you interested in politics?

	M. (%)	*F.* (%)
Yes	36	13
Only a little	36	27
No	28	60
	100	100

Of those expressing an interest in politics, both men and women had great difficulty in answering the question 'Do you remember what brought you to take an interest in politics?' Less than one in three, on the average, gave any reason. We give below an analysis of reasons given, which may indicate a slightly higher level of political maturity for men than for women.

Do you remember what brought you to take an interest in politics?

	M. (%)	*F.* (%)
Being a voter. Civic consciousness	9	5
Like any thinking citizen. Every citizen ought to take some interest in what his government is doing. It conditions our life, we must take some interest in it. Since I have been voting. Women's suffrage. The parliamentary elections.		
The defence of an idea, right or interest	4	1
For the preservation of the ideas advocated by our ancestors. In defence of my rights. Realizing what Communism stands for. From the day that there were interests to safeguard. Social injustice.		
Environment, part played in the community as a whole suggestibility	11	10

	M. (%)	F. (%)
To do as everyone else does. Studying law. My father did. Since I have been working in a factory. Discussions at home. Daily news on the radio. My profession compels me to take an interest in my clients, who often discuss it with me. Trade union membership, discussions with friends. My husband. The worker must defend himself against the bosses. To speak about it with those around me. The growing difficulties of the worker.		
A particular personal or political event	5	3
The blunders of the Combes ministry. The united front with the Communists. The political changes at the advent of Marshal Pétain. Struggle in youth against the young Royalists associated with L'Action Française. 'Since the war'.		
Vague reasons, rationalizations	8	4
Always. The party struggle. Seeing, since the liberation, what was going on in France. Incompetence and demagogy of certain proletarians.		
No answers	63	76
	100[1]	100

The reasons given by those questioned to explain their lack of interest in politics show sharper differences between men and women, the latter more often choosing explanations implying that politics was not their concern.

	M. (%)	F. (%)
Politics is too complicated	21[2]	37
Politics is not a woman's business	—	33
I have no time to worry about politics	31	29
I am too young to be interested in politics	3	5
	55	104

Men give reasons rationalizing feelings of disappointment more often than women.

	M. (%)	F. (%)
The parties are all the same; they promise a lot and once in power, they do nothing	31	23
Politics today is all a lot of sordid intrigue	28	17
Politics serves no purpose. Talking changes nothing . . .	26	18
	85	58

Interest in the national results of the latest municipal elections, in April 1953, was, according to the answers, much greater among men than among women.

	M. (%)	F. (%)
Interested in results for the whole country	60	34

1. 100 per cent equals the number of men who said that they were interested in politics.
2. 100 per cent equals number of men questioned.

POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

The lesser interest which women admit to taking in politics is confirmed by the attitude they show towards political arguments, both when they know the people with whom they are speaking and in other circumstances. There is a clear difference between men's and women's replies not only as regards enjoying or avoiding political arguments, but also in the attitudes adopted towards people who air political views. It would be interesting to see how far the attitude of reserve, shyness, and inhibition, which leads to a refusal to defend one's political views when one has admitted to holding them is actually maintained in real conversations. It is probable that the answers given show a desire on the part of the women questioned to present a picture of their behaviour which is in conformity with the conventions of society. We shall find below other instances which may confirm this interpretation.

Do you ever discuss politics with people you know well?

	M.(%)	F.(%)
Yes	70	35
No	27	62
No answer	3	3
	100	100

. . . with people you know little or not at all?

	M.(%)	F.(%)
Yes	30	10
No	67	87
No answer	3	3
	100	100

If, during a discussion, a person you know well (A) not so well or not at all (B) were to voice political opinions radically opposed to your own, what would you do?

	A		B	
	M.(%)	F.(%)	M.(%)	F.(%)
Has no political opinions	13	32	13	30
Do nothing, although has political opinions	14	16	34	29
Let him speak, but would then put forward own point of view	44	24	20	8
Try to convince the other person	18	8	9	4
Prevent him voicing his views by all possible means	1	1	2	1
No answer	12	21	24	32
	100[1]	100	100	100

Answers showing the same tendency were given to the question 'Generally speaking, do you, before voting, discuss the elections with your circle of

1. The totals are slightly higher than 100 per cent because some people gave two answers.

acquaintances?' The difference in the proportions of men and women who say that they discuss the elections becomes greater as the relations with the other party involved become less close.

Say that they discuss elections:

	M. (%)	*F.* (%)
With their husband or wife	59	53[1]
With their friends	69	41
With their colleagues	49	15
With others	41	22

POLITICAL ROLES AND SOCIAL CONVENTIONS

We have already suggested that the attitude of reserve which women show in their answer to the questions might be explained by a wish to give an impression of themselves conforming to that expected by society.

Among the sociological factors which may determine women's political role, the status assigned to them by an essentially masculine society certainly plays a predominant part. But an analysis of some of the answers suggests that women have built up an image of themselves, as regards their political role, which is still more restrictive than that instilled in them by the social body as a whole. More exactly, they reject certain activities as 'unsuitable for a person of their sex' more often than men do themselves.

Those questioned were presented with a list of activities ranging from the simple reading of political news to standing as a candidate at an election or campaigning actively for a party. They were then asked whether they considered that any of the activities listed were unsuitable for members of their own sex and suitable for the opposite sex. An analysis of the men's replies shows the difference between what men think suitable for a man and for a woman. An analysis of the women's answers shows what a gulf there is between the ideas women have of themselves and the idea they have of the part men play. A comparative analysis shows that the difference between the roles of men and of women is smaller in the minds of the men than of the women.

Do you think that any of the various activities listed are unsuitable for a person of your own sex (A), *a person of the opposite sex* (B)?

	A		B	
	M. (%)	*F.* (%)	*M.* (%)	*F.* (%)
Yes	16	76	64	15
No	78	16	26	76
No answer	6	8	10	9
	100	100	100	100

1. The difference between these two figures, 59 per cent and 53 per cent is not surprising. There is a higher proportion of married men than of married women (as in the other tables, the percentages are calculated on the basis of 100 men and 100 women).

If so, which?

	A		B	
	M.(%)[1]	*F.*(%)	*M.*(%)	*F.*(%)
To read the political news in a newspaper	6	13	11	4
To be a member of a party	40	63	52	39
To discuss politics at a friendly gathering	32	45	41	20
To put up posters and sell newspapers for a party	85	96	94	84
To find out about the electoral systems and institutions	6	10	9	3
To stand at a municipal election	19	46	38	14
To speak at an election meeting	35	67	61	31
To vote regularly at every election	4	4	5	2
No answer	5	6	1	3

At the same time, women's desire to conform with the standard which men have set them does not lead to anti-feminism more often than among men, as had been suggested. In choosing between 'two candidates, a man and a woman, representing the same political interest and equally competent', men still appear to be slightly more anti-feminist, in that they less often answer 'the woman' or 'either'.

If there are two candidates, a man and a woman, representing the same political interests and equally competent, which would you rather choose?

	M.(%)	*F.*(%)
Would choose the man	60	51
Would choose the woman	1	6
Would choose either indifferently	21	23
Would choose either according to the mission to be fulfilled	14	12
No answer	4	8
	100	100

Question put to those who answered 'either, according to the mission to be fulfilled'

In what field do you think a woman would be preferable?

	M.(%)	*F.*(%)
Social work. Social questions. Social welfare	51	54
The family. Everything relating to the family. A woman is better acquainted with family problems. Children. Care of handicapped children. Population	41	45
Public health. Hygiene. Health questions	26	26
Education. National education. Schooling. Children's upbringing. Cultural questions	19	17
Finance. Budget. Economics	3	5
Reconstruction. Housing. Town planning	3	6
Standard of living. High cost of living. Price of provisions	3	1
Other replies. Labour. Justice. Diplomacy. Foreign affairs	5	7
In every field. Everywhere	1	1
No answer	10	9
	100[2]	100

1. 100 per cent represents the number of men questioned who answered the preceding questions in the affirmative.
2. The totals are higher than 100, as some people gave more than one reply.

UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM 'POLITICAL ACTIVITY'

To the extent that women play a smaller part in politics than men and, more especially, to the extent that the attitude of women towards political behaviour is more reserved and more restrictive, it was to be expected that women would more often consider a certain number of general civic activities to come under the heading of politics. In point of fact, the differences between men and women distinguishing between political activities proper and those of the ordinary citizen are never very considerable. The biggest difference was found in the answers to the question 'Is standing for municipal elections a political activity?', to which a quarter of the women questioned answered 'no', as against a third of the men.

	M. (%)				*F.* (%)			
	Yes	No	No answer	Total	Yes	No	No answer	Total
In your opinion, does reading the political news in the daily press constitute political activity?	14	82	4	100	15	75	10	100
Is party membership political activity?	81	14	5	100	83	9	8	100
Is it political activity for someone to begin discussing politics at a friendly gathering?	45	46	9	100	48	37	15	100
To put up posters and sell papers for a party?	80	15	5	100	85	8	7	100
To find out about the electoral system and the way institutions work?	17	79	4	100	19	68	13	100
To stand for municipal elections?	56	34	10	100	64	26	10	100
To speak at an election meeting?	68	24	8	100	71	18	11	100
To vote regularly at every election?	17	78	5	100	15	77	8	100

STANDARD INFORMATION

The answers to a large number of questions put during the opinion polls conducted by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research, the results of which have been similar to those obtained in similar investigations abroad,

indicate that the standard of information among women is definitely lower than that among men. A few questions on the latest municipal elections put during this survey confirm this general finding.

Do you know how the seats were distributed among the parties in your district at the last municipal elections?

	M.(%)	F.(%)
Yes	67	39
No	28	55
No answer	5	6
	100	100

Do you know the results of the last municipal elections for the whole country?

	M.(%)	F.(%)
Yes	19	8
More or less	37	22
No	35	60
No answer	9	10
	100	100

To those who said they knew: *In your opinion, which parties showed the largest gains* (A) *at the last French municipal elections, and which the largest losses* (B)?

	A		B	
	M.(%)	F.(%)	M.(%)	F.(%)
Communist Party	26	19	15	22
Socialist Party	30	21	4	3
RGR, UDSR, Radicals	11	10	1	1
MRP	7	6	18	14
Peasants, Independents, Moderates	51	40	1	1
RPF	+	1	75	60
Left	2	11	2	2
Centre	2	3	+	+
Right	2	3	4	3
No answer	11	20	10	15
	100[1]	100	100	100

But, while women knew less about the election results with regard to the distribution of seats among the parties in their own districts and about the results for the whole country, the identity of the locally elected mayor was just as well known to both sexes.

1. 100 per cent represents the number of men questioned who said they knew (more or less) the results for the whole country.

Do you know who was elected mayor of your commune at the last municipal elections?

	M. (%)	F. (%)
Yes	94	93
No	6	7
No answer	+	+
	100	100

The answers to another question confirm that women are more interested in political questions of direct concern to the community to which they belong. 'In general, do municipal elections interest you more, as much, or less than parliamentary elections?'

	M. (%)	F. (%)
More	28	35
As much	48	34
Less	14	8
No answer	10	23
	100	100

We are probably entitled to interpret these results as indicating that the field of women's political consciousness is narrower than men's and that their political horizon is less extensive, resulting in a sort of 'social introversion'.

PROPORTION OF VOTERS

We have seen that, as regards the interest shown in politics, the part taken in discussions, and interest in the news, the number of politically conscious men, among those questioned, was generally about twice that of the women. The same proportion is again found in the numbers of non-voters. The proportion of women who stated that they had not voted at the last elections in 1953 was about a quarter of the female electorate. It was twice as high as that of non-voters among the men.

	M. (%)	F. (%)
At the last municipal elections:		
Voted	86	74
Did not vote	13	25
No answer	1	1
	100	100
At earlier elections:		
Have already voted several times	76	58
Have voted once	5	7
Have not voted at other elections	8	20
No answer	11	15
	100	100

As might have been expected from the preceding results, the hypothesis that the proportion of women non-voters is higher than that of the men is thus fully confirmed by the findings of the survey. Before examining more thoroughly than has been done up to now, to what extent 'this difference in interest is the result of a difference in political maturity', we shall analyse the way women vote.

Here again, the results appear to confirm the hypothesis that women tend to vote for the conservative parties. The answers to the question, 'For which political party have you most sympathy?' are distributed as follows:

	M.(%)	F.(%)
Communist Party	15	9
Socialist Party	17	13
MRP	7	13
RGR, UDSR, Radicals	10	6
Peasants, Independents, Moderates, PRL	19	16
RPF	5	6
Left-wing parties (unspecified)	2	1
Centre parties (unspecified)	1	1
Right-wing parties (unspecified)	+	1
'One is as good as another', 'they are all the same', 'none'	10	12
Refused to reply	12	14
Not interested in politics, non-voters	1	4
Don't know	1	4
	100	100

On regrouping these answers, we see that, while the percentage of men and women who gave an answer other than Communist Party, Socialist Party, or Left, is practically the same (42 per cent and 43 per cent), the left-wing parties were given in 34 per cent of the men's replies and 23 per cent of the women's. But an element of uncertainty makes interpretation difficult, namely, the fairly large numbers of 'no answer' responses and no definite views, particularly among the women. Everything seems to indicate that the women's answers which did not show a bias towards the left-wing parties were given by those who were least interested in political life. It seems that, in point of fact, the respondents who did not indicate a sympathy for a particular party vote less than the others.

	Named the party for which they had most sympathy	Did not name party	Total
Have not voted	49	51	100[1]
Have already voted once	68	32	100
Have voted several times	72	28	100

1. 100 per cent represents the number of women questioned who said that they had never voted except at the last municipal elections.

It also appears, so far as can be judged from the survey, that those who either would not or could not indicate their political preferences react in the same way as those of conservative tendencies to those questions in which the nature of political sympathies causes differentiation. For instance, in answering the question: 'When you vote, are you more influenced by the personality of the candidates appearing on the list or by the programme of the party to which those candidates belong?', most of the women who say that their political sympathies are with the left, say that they are more influenced by the party programme, while those whose political opinions are more conservative generally take the opposite view. The group which did not state any party preference reacted quite definitely in the same way as the latter.

	Personality of candidates %	Party programme %	Both %	No answer %	Total %
Among those favouring the:					
Communist Party	21	70	2	7	100
Socialist Party	31	48	5	16	100
MRP	44	38	3	15	100
RGR, UDSR, Radicals	40	48	—	12	100
Peasants, Independents, Moderates, PRL	47	37	3	13	100
RPF	31	55	2	12	100
Did not name party	46	25	2	27	100

Another question also suggested warrant for the hypothesis that the latent or hidden political sympathies of those who, in the survey, did not commit themselves to preference of a political party, are conservative. The answers given to the question, already mentioned, 'In your opinion, which parties showed the largest gains at the last French elections and which the largest losses?' show a definite tendency for the respondents as a whole to name the party they prefer as having gained, and those they dislike as having lost. If those respondents who did not indicate their political preferences, 'projected' their political sympathies into their answers to this question in the same way as the others, we have a fresh indication of their political leanings, which bears out the foregoing remarks.

	Women questioned, who expressed sympathy for						None
	A(%)	B(%)	C(%)	D(%)	E(%)	F(%)	
Think that the parties showing most gains at the last elections were:							
Communists (A)	*73*	19	9	2	4	12	14
Socialists (B)	16	*41*	16	25	12	24	20
MRP (C)	3	—	*7*	7	5	15	5
RGR, UDSR, Radicals (D) .	1	9	10	*22*	15	15	5
Peasants, Independents, Moderates, PRL (E)	20	39	55	48	*61*	27	28
RPF (F)	—	—	2	—	1	*5*	—
Other replies	4	7	4	12	2	12	6
No answer	12	16	25	10	19	20	32
	100[1]	100	100	100	100	100	100

The *same analysis in the case of men gives similar results*, as the following table shows.

	Men questioned who expressed sympathy for						None
	A(%)	B(%)	C(%)	D(%)	E(%)	F(%)	
Think that the parties showing most gains at the last elections were:							
Communists (A)	*71*	20	14	7	8	2	20
Socialists (B)	25	*51*	27	24	22	32	31
MRP (C)	5	5	*24*	1	5	15	8
RGR (D)	8	10	8	*24*	13	7	6
Peasants (E)	30	45	59	65	*66*	*51*	52
RPF (F)	1	1	2	—	—	2	—
Other replies	10	6	8	6	7	2	1
No answer	4	11	2	10	13	2	20
	100[1]	100	100	100	100	100	100

The analysis of these last results not only strengthens the hypothesis that women's votes tend to go to the more conservative parties, but also leads on to an attempt at a closer definition of certain aspects of women's political role.

Firstly, as regards the *stability* of their voting. The tendency to attach more importance, in deciding how to vote, to the personality of the candidates than to their programme, and the statement that they decide in the light of the questions of the hour rather than from loyalty to a party or long-standing conviction, are more common among women than among men.

1. The totals are higher than 100, because some people gave several answers.

	M.(%)	F.(%)
When they vote are more influenced by:		
The personality of the candidate	32	39
The party programme	51	41
(Both)	(6)	(3)
No answer	11	17
	100	100
When they vote:		
Decide from loyalty to an idea or a party	44	31
Decide in the light of the problems of the hour	44	46
(Both)	(2)	(1)
No answer	10	22
	100	100

Apart from the fact that the differences between the figures for men and women are not very considerable, it would be unwise to regard them as proof of the hypothesis that the woman's vote is unstable. The most we can assume is that emotional factors are likely to influence women's political behaviour more often than men's.[1] As far as reactions of public opinion are concerned, many results tend to lead to that conclusion but as regards women voters' behaviour, as such, it is doubtful whether the instability of the woman's vote is considerably greater than the man's. The 'party loyalty' index worked out by the French Institute of Public Opinion Research in its investigations regarding the electoral support of the various parties (which is a measure of the relation between the answers of each respondent to the two questions, 'For which party did you vote?' and 'For which party would you vote?') has never shown any very marked difference between the male and female electorates.

It may be that the unexpected degree of stability in the woman's vote is largely due to the influence of husband or relatives. If the hypothesis that husband and wife vote the same is confirmed (we shall see later to what extent this survey actually bore out this hypothesis), we cannot assume that the female electorate is more unstable than the male, at least as far as the married population is concerned.

But, while it is difficult to extract any exact information about the degree of stability of the woman's vote from this survey, we are inclined to interpret several of the findings as indications of political *maturity*. We may quote,

1. However, an attempt to check the importance of emotional factors in women's political behaviour from the answers to factual questions ('Which party showed the largest gains at the last elections?') does not give the expected results. The relation between the number of answers in which the party said to have gained is that of the respondent, and the number of answers in which the party said to have gained is not that of the respondent might be regarded as an index of objectivity. On comparing the value of this index for men and women, we find that it is higher for the latter (0.65) than for the former (0.49). If the suggested interpretation is correct, this would indicate that women's ideas of the position are less influenced by political sympathies than men's. The result may also be regarded as due to greater detachment and greater indifference on the part of women.

as an example of an answer that can be interpreted in this way, that indicating whether the act of voting is regarded as the performance of a duty rather than as the exercise of a right.

When they vote, they feel they are:	M.(%)	F.(%)
Doing their duty	55	64
Exercising a right	28	19
Both	10	5
No answer	7	12
	100	100

Other questions, the results of which have already been given, might be re-examined here as indications of maturity, e.g. those dealing with the relative interest shown in municipal and parliamentary elections, or the types of political activities which are 'suitable', or not, for a woman or a man.

The results in response to this last question may be summarized as in the following table:

	M.(%)	F.(%)
All forms of political activity are suitable for both men and women	24	16
All forms are suitable for men but not all for women	54	65
Not all forms are suitable either for men or for women	14	14
All forms are suitable for women but not all for men	2	+
Undecided	6	5
	100	100

The differences between men's and women's answers show to what extent the norms accepted by women tend to be more restrictive than those accepted by men. But if this factor is taken in conjunction with the relative interest shown in municipal and parliamentary elections, it brings out certain connexions which enable us to come closer to the idea of maturity.

The table following shows how the two groups of respondents were distributed according to what might be called different levels of political maturity.

	M. (%)		F. (%)	
All those political activities are suitable for a member of my sex and:				
1. municipal elections interest me less than parliamentary elections	12	50	2	9
2. municipal elections interest me as much as parliamentary elections	38		7	
3. municipal elections interest me more than parliamentary elections	20	22	5	11
Not all these activities are suitable for a member of my sex and:				
4. municipal elections interest me less than parliamentary elections	2		6	
5. municipal elections interest me as much as parliamentary elections	6	13	25	52
6. municipal elections interest me more than parliamentary elections	7		27	
Undecided on one of the two points	9	15	25	28
Undecided on both points	6		3	
	100		100	

INVESTIGATION OF THE FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S PART IN POLITICAL LIFE

In Part 1, we analysed a certain number of aspects of women's political activity, concentrating mainly on discovering differences between men's and women's behaviour. In this second part, the principal object is to study the causes and occasions of participation in political life by analysing each of the major results of the survey with reference to different characteristics.

The investigation of the factors affecting the political role of women is difficult. In using the results of a public opinion poll, systematic efforts can be made to discover correlations between the different phenomena studied and their intensity. But, on the one hand, it is not possible to draw conclusions about causes from correlations, without embarking on interpretation, (which can never be more than hypothetical) and on the other, it is difficult to isolate the relative importance of each 'factor' of variation, unless the number of cases examined is much greater than that of the sample taken for this survey.

Nevertheless, examination of the results, successively, with reference to occupational category, marital status, age, place of residence, and standard of education, should enable us to collect clear enough data to bring out general trends and, in passing, to verify several working hypotheses.

WOMEN'S PART IN POLITICAL LIFE ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

One of the working hypotheses is that women do not desire to take part, or

actually take part in political life unless they have a sufficient place in the life of society to give them opportunities of assuming responsibilities, taking action, and reaching a certain standard of independence and of general autonomy in the community. To be more exact, it is thought that the woman who has an economic function, who by practising a calling, earns her own living or helps in meeting the needs of the household, takes a greater part in political life than the woman who does not work outside the home. The latter, in many cases, will devote herself to domestic activities, so that the scope of her social activity and the frequency and importance of her contacts with groups, institutions or individuals likely to foster an awareness of political problems will be limited. But a comparison of the reactions of the women not gainfully employed who were questioned during the survey, with those of the women belonging to the different occupational groups does not bring to light all the differences expected.

As regards voting, the proportion of non-voters is more or less constant. Women workers were the only group in which a higher proportion stated that they had abstained from voting at the last elections in April 1953. As regards *interest* in politics, standard of *information,* and the questions we have suggested might be interpreted as indicative of *maturity,* the groups indicating that they took the largest part were clerical workers and civil servants, followed by shopkeepers, self-employed workers, executives and professional women. Those indicating the smallest part were to be found among farm workers, and, to a lesser degree, among women workers. Women not gainfully employed nearly always came between the two groups. This is probably due to their educational level, which we shall go into at a later stage.

The only point in the survey on which women not gainfully employed gave evidence of taking a lesser part than women workers was that relating to political discussions with people whom they knew little or not at all. If the tentative interpretation of the answers to this question suggested above is correct, this would mean that women workers are less affected than women who are not gainfully employed by the idea that it is unsuitable for women to discuss politics. But the differences between working women and those not gainfully employed are too small for us to be sure of their significance. This is not so in the case of men, where the same phenomenon is found in a far more definite form.

We have just seen that women workers, although they generally seem less desirous of stating an interest in politics and are more often non-voters, *showed more positive reactions in the matter of political discussion.* Another important observation must be made, which tends to support the hypothesis of greater political maturity; women workers (and the same is true for men workers) stated much more often than members of the other social and occupational groups that they attached more importance to programmes than to the personal qualities of candidates.

These last observations do not invalidate the thesis that being a worker

tends to cause people to take more part in political life. They are not sufficient, however, to suggest that this is a more important factor than the standard of education, which was mentioned a moment ago as an explanation of the part taken by women who do not work outside the home.

The following table gives an analysis of the most important answers classified according to the occupational category of the women questioned. In order to avoid making these analytical tables unwieldy, we have not given all the answers to every question, but only the most important. For instance, the first line shows the proportion answering 'I did not vote at the elections in April 1953', for each social and occupational group, without reproducing the corresponding proportion answering 'I voted'. All types of answers are given for the questions where the proportion of 'no answer' responses is significant in itself, either because of the numbers or because of the variation according to social and occupational category.

ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S ANSWERS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

	Clerical workers, civil servants	Shop-keepers, higher executives, liberal professions	Women not gainfully employed	Workers	Farm workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Did not vote at the April 1953 elections	25	29	25	39	25
Are interested in politics	17	15	13	14	7
Only a little . . .	36	36	27	14	21
Are not interested .	47	48	59	71	72
No answer . . .	—	1	1	1	—
	100[1]	100	100	100	100
The family responsibilities of women are an obstacle to their political activity	44	46	54	54	57
A difference of political opinion is an obstacle to a marriage	50	47	45	42	32
A difference of political opinion is an obstacle to a friendship	29	39	31	34	26
I sometimes discuss politics with people I know well . .	50	46	34	34	26

1. 100 per cent corresponds to the number of clerical workers and civil servants questioned.

	Clerical workers, civil servants	Shop-keepers, higher executives, liberal professions	Women not gainfully employed	Workers	Farm workers
	%	%	%	%	%
I sometimes discuss politics with people I know little or not at all	15	14	9	13	7
It is political activity:					
To discuss politics at a friendly gathering . . .	38	44	49	51	51
To stand for municipal elections .	62	69	65	69	55
When they vote, are more influenced by:					
The personality of the candidates .	40	36	40	26	44
The programme .	40	51	42	53	27
Both	3	4	2	1	5
No answer . .	17	9	16	20	24
	100[1]	100	100	100	100
Know how their husbands vote . .	69	69	71	77	61
Knew their husbands' political opinions before marriage .	64	70	56	56	43
Did not know . .	26	22	33	35	41
Husbands had no political opinions . .	8	6	8	5	11
No answer . . .	2	2	3	4	5
	100	100	100	100	100
Were interested in the results of the last municipal elections for the whole country	44	38	36	30	20
Knew the results more or less . .	31	26	32	25	20
Knew the distribution of seats among the parties in their commune	39	50	38	30	43

Note. The percentages are calculated on the basis of 100 people of each social and occupational group.

WOMEN'S PART IN POLITICAL LIFE ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

A large number of surveys have shown that the woman's vote tends, on the

1. 100 per cent corresponds to the number of clerical workers and civil servants questioned.

whole, to be more conservative than the man's. It is therefore legitimate to assume that, if married women generally vote as their husbands do, the difference between the man's and the woman's vote is attributable to single women, widows and divorcees.

It is not possible, from this survey, fully to confirm the first clause of this hypothesis, i.e. that husband and wife vote alike, since only seven out of ten respondents stated that they knew how their spouse voted. In this first group, the great majority said that their wives (or husbands) voted as they did, only 5 per cent of the married respondents stating the contrary. But for the other groups, it is possible, and indeed in some measure probable, that there are more differences in voting between husband and wife.

The second clause of the hypothesis, too, is only partially confirmed. The analysis of political sympathies according to women's marital status shows that those who supported the left-wing parties (Communist Party and SFIO) at the elections included a slightly higher proportion of married women than should have been the case if the structure of the female electorate for every party contained the normal proportions of married and unmarried women. But the converse is not true; in all the other political parties the distribution for the various types of marital status was identical. It would appear that the single women, widows and divorcees, missing from the left-wing parties, are to be found among the non-voters.

	Married	Single	Widows and divorcees	Single, widows and divorcees
	%	%	%	%
Communist Party	9	7	7	7
Socialist Party	15	10	10	10
MRP	13	14	12	13
RGR	6	5	9	7
Peasants	16	14	17	16
RPF	6	5	6	5
Left	1	1	—	1
Centre	1	1	1	1
Right	1	2	—	1
'One is as good as another'; 'they are all the same'; 'none'	11	15	11	13
Refused to reply	14	14	19	16
Non-voters, not interested	3	7	5	6
Don't know	4	5	3	4
	100[1]	100[2]	100[3]	100[4]

The above table gives an analysis of women's answers to the question 'For which political party have you most sympathy?', according to the

1. 100 per cent = 990 married women.
2. 100 per cent = 274 unmarried women.
3. 100 per cent = 299 widows and divorcees (34 divorcees).
4. 100 per cent = 573 women living alone.

marital status of those questioned. We were obliged to group 'widows' and 'divorcees' together, since the number of the latter questioned was too small for separate statistical analysis. In the last column of the table, the results of the two previous ones are rearranged in order to facilitate comparison of the answers of married women and those living alone.

Moreover, the proportion of voters at the elections in April 1953 was higher for married women than for those living alone (78 per cent as against 71 per cent) and, more especially, for women with children, whether married, widowed or divorced (78 per cent as against 65 per cent). Women with children, whether they are married, divorced or widowed, more often consider that family responsibilities are an obstacle to their taking a part in political life.

But analysis of the answers used in this survey to indicate the part played in political life according to marital status usually shows a higher degree of political consciousness or political maturity among married women. The interest they say they take in politics and the extent of their information, for instance, seem to be slightly higher.

The interpretation of differences in political participation between married and unmarried women is difficult unless other factors, such as age, are taken into consideration. It is indeed possible that the lesser interest in politics, and the smaller proportion of voters found among single women and widows are simply due to the fact that the average age of married women and widows is higher. As we shall see, the part played by women in political life increases from the age of 35 and begins to fall off again after 50.

It is of some interest, however, that the differences in political participation according to marital status are as considerable for men as for women. As regards voting, for instance, the proportion of non-voters among widowers is higher than among married men and lower than among bachelors.

	M.(%)	*F.*(%)
Stated that they did not vote at the last municipal elections:		
Married	9	22
Single	27	30
Widowed or divorced	18	28

It is, of course, possible that this again is a question of age, but this does not rule out the idea that social responsibilities in general (in the case in point, responsibility for a family) cause people to take more part in political life. The 'age' and 'marital status' factors would then be merely aspects, arbitrarily singled out, of a more general cause, to be sought in the nature of the functions the individual is called upon to assume, the needs he has to satisfy, and the social roles he has to play.

It is obvious that each successive status held in society gives the individual a certain type of social environment and that these differences in *circumstances* sometimes work to increase and sometimes to reduce his part in political life. Family circumstances for the whole public and, more parti-

cularly, in the case of women, the fact of having children, here appear clearly to be conducive to participation.

ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S ANSWERS ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

	Married with children	Married childless	Widows or divorcees with children	Widows or divorcees	Single
	%	%	%	%	%
Did not vote at elections in April 1953	*21*	30	*26*	34	38
Interested in politics	*12*	14	*11*	19	13
Only a little	*39*	32	*23*	15	25
Not interested	*49*	53	*65*	66	61
No answer	—	1	*1*	—	1
	100	100	100	100	100
Not interested in politics because:					
Politics is too complicated	*36*	37	*40*	42	36
No time	*35*	23	*24*	14	23
Too young	*2*	1	+	2	19
It is not a woman's business	*36*	28	*36*	40	26
Politics serves no purpose	*19*	14	*22*	30	14
Politics today is all a lot of sordid intrigue	*17*	19	*15*	16	16
The parties are all the same	*23*	22	*28*	18	20
No answer	*8*	12	*8*	12	9
Think that the family responsibilities of women are an obstacle to their political activity (in general)	*57*	43	*62*	40	43
And in their own particular case	*55*	38	*57*	26	29
Sometimes discuss politics with:					
People they know well	*35*	42	*29*	34	39
People they know little or not at all	*10*	12	*7*	6	13
It is political activity:					
To discuss politics at a friendly gathering	*48*	50	*52*	40	43
To stand for municipal elections	*62*	65	*62*	55	67

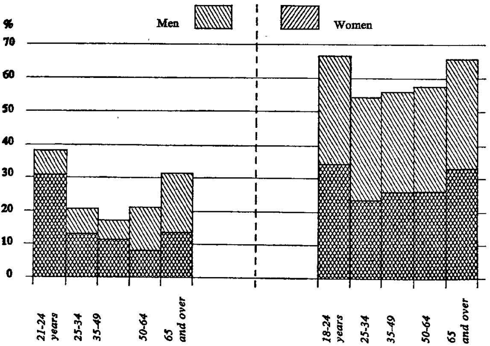
	Married with children %	Married childless %	Widows or divorcees with children %	Widows or divorcees %	Single %
Municipal elections interested them:					
More than parliamentary elections .		38		35	29
As much . . .		32		36	32
Less		9		7	8
No answer . . .		21		22	31
		100		100	100
Know more or less the results of the municipal elections for the whole country		32		21	28

WOMEN'S PART IN POLITICAL LIFE ACCORDING TO AGE

The curve for non-voting, with reference to age, as shown by the survey for the latest elections in April 1953, clearly takes the form of a U. Among women voters under the age of 24, only 6 out of 10 said they had voted. The same age group for men includes the highest proportion of individuals

Percentage of men and women who did not vote in the April 1953 elections, classified according to age. (Municipal elections.)

Proportion of men and women 'not interested in politics', classified according to age.



taking little part, but while women's interest in political activities begins to decline again from the age of 50 onwards, it is around this age that men's participation is highest. There are very few points on which differences are noted which do not confirm the above indications. When they do appear (young women, for example, interpret the act of voting as the exercise of a right more often than their elders), the differences are too small to be regarded statistically as definitely significant.

ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S ANSWERS ACCORDING TO AGE

	18-24 %	25-34 %	35-49 %	50-64 %	65 + %
Did not vote at the last municipal elections in April 1953 .	39[1]	21	18	21	32
Interested in politics . . .	6	17	14	12	10
Only a little	26	28	28	30	23
Not at all	68	55	57	58	66
No reply	—	—	1	—	1
	100	100	100	100	100
Interested little or not at all in politics because:					
Politics is too complicated .	34	38	35	35	45
Have no time	29	33	33	30	18
Too young	23	3	—	—	—
It is not a woman's business .	27	34	34	34	38
Politics serves no purpose . .	16	18	19	20	20
Politics today is all a lot of sordid intrigue	15	17	20	17	15
The parties are all the same .	19	22	25	27	20
No answer	8	9	10	8	8
A difference of political opinion is:					
An obstacle to a marriage .	38	49	43	48	46
An obstacle to a friendship .	30	26	32	38	36
They sometimes discuss politics with people they know well .	30	41	38	35	28
Some of the following activities (Question 7a) are not suitable for a member of their sex .	74	72	76	77	81
For example:					
Put up posters and sell papers for a party	97	96	94	96	96
Speak at an election meeting .	64	65	62	69	77
Be a member of a party . .	61	63	56	70	69
Stand for municipal elections .	42	44	42	49	51
Discuss politics at a friendly gathering	47	39	41	46	57

1. Minors were not counted for this first question.

	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
	%	%	%	%	%
Read the political news in the paper	17	9	12	15	15
Find out about the electoral system and political institutions	9	7	10	10	14
Vote regularly at elections . .	4	3	3	5	9
Some of these activities are unsuitable for a member of the opposite sex	15	14	13	16	16
When they vote, they feel:					
They are doing their duty .	55	64	67	63	65
They are exercising a right .	24	19	18	19	19
Both	5	5	4	7	5
No answer	16	12	11	11	11
	100	100	100	100	100
Know how their husbands vote.	—	75	63	67	74
Knew their husband's political opinions before marriage . .	56	62	53	53	50
Did not know them	24	30	35	33	46
Husband had no political opinions	9	6	8	11	4
No answer	11	2	4	3	—
	100	100	100	100	100
Municipal elections interest them:					
More than parliamentary elections	31	39	36	33	36
As much	26	35	37	38	29
Less	9	8	8	8	8
No answer	34	18	19	21	27
	100	100	100	100	100
Were interested in the results of the last municipal elections for the whole country . . .	28	40	36	35	25
Know the distribution of seats among the parties in their own commune	33	44	43	41	40
Between two candidates representing the same interests would choose:					
the man	48	45	52	51	59
the woman	4	6	6	6	6
indifferent	24	27	25	20	16
either according to the function to be performed . .	13	16	11	11	9
No answer	11	6	6	12	10
	100	100	100	100	100

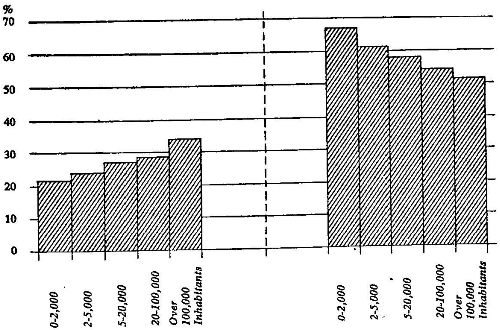
WOMEN'S PART IN POLITICAL LIFE ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Interest in politics, knowledge of the results for the last municipal elections over the entire country, the habit of political discussion in private or public conversation, and finally, the proportion of voters itself, all increase regularly with the size of the place of residence. In some respects (the standard of information, for example) the figures for the large towns are double those for rural districts, but the proportion of non-voters at the last municipal elections increased with the size of the place, rising from 21 per cent in rural centres to 34 per cent in places with more than 100,000 inhabitants. It is possible that for parliamentary elections, there is less correlation between the proportion of voters and the place of residence.

The better knowledge of the local results of the April 1953 elections, shown by respondents living in small places, confirms that this part of the population takes a greater interest in municipal elections. We have already observed, however, that, from the results of the survey, the social and occupational group taking least part in political life was that of women farm workers. When we come to study the educational factor, we shall find one of the reasons which, it may be suggested, account for their lower standard of political consciousness.

Proportion of women non-voters at the April 1953 elections, classified according to place of residence. (Municipal elections.)

Proportion of women 'not interested in politics', classified according to place of residence.



ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S REPLIES ACCORDING TO SIZE OF LOCALITY INHABITED

	No. of inhabitants				
	Less than 2,000 %	2,000-5,000 %	5,000-20,000 %	20,000-100,000 %	100,000+ %
Did not vote at last elections in April 1953	21	24	27	29	34
Interested in politics	10	11	11	13	19
Interested only a little	22	28	31	33	29
Not interested	67	61	58	54	51
No answer	1	—	—	—	1
	100	100	100	100	100
Interested little or not at all in politics because:					
Politics is too complicated	39	48	35	34	30
Have no time	29	28	27	29	31
Too young	5	2	6	4	6
It is not a woman's business	35	33	40	31	25
Politics serves no purpose	18	23	17	19	18
It is all a lot of sordid intrigue	11	23	21	20	19
The parties are all the same	21	21	24	25	30
No answer	9	9	6	9	11
Women's family responsibilities are an obstacle to their political activity	41	46	44	49	51
Difference of political opinions is an obstacle to a marriage	39	38	42	54	45
Is not an obstacle	37	35	46	31	41
No answer	24	27	12	15	14
	100	100	100	100	100
They sometimes discuss politics with people they know well	29	32	34	39	46
They sometimes discuss politics with people they know little or not at all.	6	9	12	15	15
It is political activity:					
To discuss politics at a friendly gathering	49	47	51	57	40
To stand for municipal elections	52	55	68	80	76
Know how their husbands vote	64	71	64	73	78

	No. of inhabitants				
	Less than 2,000-	2,000-5,000	5,000-20,000	20,000-100,000	100,000+
	%	%	%	%	%
Knew their husband's political opinions before marriage	49	60	57	53	66
Did not know . . .	37	32	33	34	26
He had no political opinions	10	8	7	9	5
No answer	4	—	3	4	3
	100	100	100	100	100
Were interested in the last municipal election results for the whole country .	25	34	35	37	48
Knew the results more or less	21	26	32	35	41
Know the distribution of seats among the parties in their own commune .	41	49	40	34	33

WOMEN'S PART IN LIFE ACCORDING TO STANDARD OF EDUCATION

The different categories of respondents which can be distinguished according to the type of education received cannot be regarded as spaced out along a single continuous scale. People who have had a higher primary education, for instance, can hardly be said to be more or less 'educated' than those who have taken technical courses. We therefore cannot expect to find continuous and regular variation in participation from one end of the educational scale to the other. Nevertheless the part played by women seems to have a close correlation with their standard of education. If, for example, the fact of being less interested in municipal than in parliamentary elections is regarded as an indication of political maturity, we see that such answers are four times as frequent among women who have had a higher education than among those whose schooling ended at the primary stage.

In the same way, there is a definite correlation between interest in politics, taste for political discussion, knowledge of the national election results, and the standard of education. Women's ideas of their political role also vary with this factor; women who have had a higher education have a much less restrictive and conventional idea of what is suitable for a woman as regards political activities. But, in spite of all these concordant results in the sphere of opinion, ideas and information, the proportion of women voting is not directly related to their standard of education. The lowest proportion of non-voters was found in the group of respondents who had had a higher primary education. The smallest proportion of voters was noted among those who have never had any higher education. The apparent contradiction between electoral behaviour at the last municipal elections and the general

level of political consciousness deserves to be investigated more thoroughly than can be done here. We may take it, however, that the 'education' factor has a considerable influence on the part played in political life and use it to account for at least two facts:

1. As the general standard of education is lower for women than for men, it may be one of the reasons for the smaller part played by women in political life.
2. As the standard of education is lower for women industrial workers and farm workers than for women who do not work outside the home, it may be that this difference accounts for the results which did not entirely bear out one of the working hypotheses (i.e., that an occupation and professional responsibilities cause women to take a fuller part in political life). The figures given in the table below show particularly to what extent the classification of socio-occupational categories according to standard of education matches the classification of the same categories according to their degree of political consciousness, as revealed, in general, by this survey.

[Last educational establishment attended was: A = primary school; B = higher primary school; C = technical school; D = secondary school; E = higher educational establishment.]

	A %	B %	C %	D %	E %	None %	Total %
Men	55	12	11	12	9	1	100
Women	60	15	6	13	5	1	100
Among the women questioned:							
Clerical workers and civil servants	19	30	22	20	9	—	100
Shopkeepers, self-employed workers, industrialists, lib. prof.	48	18	5	14	15	—	100
Not gainfully employed	58	15	5	17	4	1	100
Workers	81	6	7	3	—	3	100
Farming women	82	9	1	6	1	1	100

ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S ANSWERS ACCORDING TO STANDARD OF EDUCATION

[Last educational establishment attended was: A = primary school; B = higher primary school; C = technical school; D = secondary school; E = higher educational establishment.]

	A %	B %	C %	D %	E %	None[1] %
Did not vote at the last municipal elections in April 1953	26	19	30	26	36	10 out of 17
Interested in politics	6	18	14	22	31	(1)
Only a little	24	35	36	35	37	(1)
Not interested	70	47	49	43	32	(15)
No answer	—	—	1	—	—	—
	100	100	100	100	100	(17)
Interested little or not at all in politics because:						
Politics is too complicated	40	37	29	30	29	(7)
No time	30	26	30	26	31	(5)
Too young	3	5	10	7	14	(—)
It is not a woman's business	39	27	27	27	16	(3)
Politics serves no purpose	19	17	24	18	12	(6)
It is all a lot of sordid intrigue	14	20	22	23	31	(2)
The parties are all the same	22	26	25	26	22	(3)
No answer	7	8	11	12	24	(3)
Women's family responsibilities are an obstacle to their political activity	57	45	44	52	41	(10)
They sometimes discuss politics with people they know well	27	43	47	49	58	(1)
They know the distribution of seats among the parties in their own commune	35	51	44	47	46	(2)
They sometimes discuss politics with people they do not know	7	12	15	17	18	(0)
(Among the following activities) some are unsuitable for a member of their own sex	79	74	77	74	56	(14)

1. We give here, for information, the absolute numbers of women questioned who stated that they had had no schooling. The total number of women respondents who stated this was 17.

	A %	B %	C %	D %	E %	None %
Have voted at other elections						
Once	7	5	10	10	7	(—)
Several times	62	65	43	52	50	(7)
Know how their husbands vote	65	74	63	75	85	(5)
Municipal elections interest them:						
More than parliamentary elections	40	36	24	24	21	(5)
As much	29	36	47	44	36	(5)
Less	6	9	11	13	24	(—)
No answer	25	19	18	19	19	(7)
	100	100	100	100	100	(17)
Were interested in the results of the last elections for the whole country .	24	45	45	52	60	(3)
Know the results more or less	19	44	38	48	49	(2)
Between 2 candidates representing the same interests:						
Would choose the man .	55	44	47	49	41	(8)
Would choose the woman						
Indifferent	5	8	7	5	4	(—)
Either according to func-	21	23	30	24	22	(5)
tion to be performed .	9	18	13	17	29	(—)
No answer	10	7	3	5	4	(4)
	100	100	100	100	100	(17)

CONCLUSIONS

From the results of this survey as a whole—which confirm or supplement those obtained in previous surveys undertaken by the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique—we may draw the following principal conclusions.

DEGREE TO WHICH WOMEN TAKE PART IN POLITICAL LIFE

Women show a lower standard of political maturity, information and participation than men. One out of three women states that 'politics is not a woman's business'; 30 per cent of them admit to having no political opinions. Men incidentally confirm what they say, as 30 per cent of the married men

state that their wives 'had no political opinions before marriage'. Woman's political horizon is narrower than man's, since men's interests are less often limited to local political problems and they are more inclined to think in terms of parties or programmes.

The largest differences to be observed between the two sexes relate to the attitude towards political discussion and, more generally, to all prejudices concerning the various forms of political activity.

POLITICAL INCLINATIONS OF THE FEMALE ELECTORATE

Women show a more conservative tendency than men. The difference appears to be, at least in large measure, due to widows and unmarried women, that is, to women who are not directly influenced, politically, by a husband. As regards changes in opinion, women are probably less stable and less consistent than men, but this instability has not been proved to be reflected in electoral behaviour.

PERSONAL FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S POLITICAL ROLE

Age

The survey showed that young women and old women take a lesser part in politics, the period in which political activity is greatest being between 35 and 50. There are three groups of reasons for this: *historical reasons*—women have only recently been granted the vote in France, and older women find it difficult to change their attitude of indifference; *social and physiological reasons*—the introspective life and standing aside from social activity which come with old age; *psycho-sociological reasons*—young people and older people generally have fewer social and economic responsibilities. The general features of the phenomenon are usually the same for men, although less striking. The only novel feature about the differences in women's behaviour in relation to their age is therefore simply that they have had the status of citizen a shorter time.

Family Responsibilities, Marital Status

Family responsibilities are often felt to be a handicap, more so by women than by men, and more by mothers than by childless women, but this feeling applies more to the general position of women as a whole than to the personal circumstances of the women questioned. On the contrary, there is no sign that the proportion of voters, at least at the local level, is reduced because of the family duties of the women voters; in fact, a higher proportion of married women and mothers vote than of other women. In

addition, marriage affects men's political behaviour even more. This again brings us back to the effects of the age factor and social responsibility, mentioned above.

Place of Residence

Women living in rural communities have a narrower political horizon and, more especially, a lower standard of knowledge and political maturity than women living in urban localities. Nevertheless, the proportion of voters at municipal elections is greater in the country districts than in the towns. This last observation suggests the need to make a distinction between political behaviour on the national plane, which is more influenced by ideologies, and political behaviour on the local plane, where practical matters figure more largely, and where the pressure of the small group is probably felt still more strongly by women than by men.

Standard of Education

The best educated women are best informed. They have greater political maturity, so that the differences between the sexes tend to diminish in their case.

Occupational Status

This factor is generally connected with the preceding one, which probably explains why women farm workers and industrial workers are less politically conscious. But the findings are not inconsistent with the idea that professional responsibilities—like family responsibilities, perhaps—encourage women to take a greater part. The group of women who are not gainfully employed is thus, in large measure, responsible for the differences noted between the men and women voters.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS: THE EFFECTS OF CULTURAL STANDARDS AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

In our society, all forms of political activity were until recently, and, to a large extent, still are, the exclusive privilege of men. The notion of their political role that women tend to absorb is thus still very restrictive. More than nine out of ten men do not find it out of place for a man to discuss politics at a friendly gathering or to speak at an election meeting, but only three or four out of ten would say the same for a woman.

Women accept this status and indeed tend to conform to the attitudes of those groups which are most opposed to their taking a part in political life. For instance, when wishing to justify the small part they play, they avoid

political rationalizations in two cases out of three ('the parties are all the same', 'politics serves no purpose') and give instead rationalizations reflecting the idea that they are not concerned with politics ('it is not a woman's business', 'politics is too complicated'). Their restrictive attitude, however, is not taken to the length of showing less confidence, as a general principle, in a woman candidate for election than men themselves do.

It was impossible in this study to trace out the whole development of women's part in political life since they were given the right to vote. But it will be remembered that an earlier paper drew attention to a number of signs that the gap between the two sexes had narrowed in the last eight years. An examination of the public opinion polls carried out by the institute since 1944 shows that the political role of women is in no way fixed and unchanging. It may be thought that the growth of employment for women, side by side with wider educational opportunities and a higher standard of knowledge would help to do away with the present disparity between the sexes.

IV. THE POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN NORWAY

Excerpts from a contribution to the Norwegian report based on public opinion data

by Dr. Erik Gronseth
Institute of Sociology, Oslo University

INTRODUCTION

DATA AND PROCEDURES

Through the courtesy of the Norwegian Gallup Institute, the greater part of the material in this report has been taken from the questions asked by the Gallup Institute of a representative sample of the Norwegian population during the period 1946 to 1953.

An essential part of the section on opinions about women's possibilities of engaging in politics, occupational life and defense work have been asked by the Gallup Institute in special connexion with the present Unesco study.

The majority of the material on the level of political information, on voting and on other direct political activities, as well as some of the material about opinions on political issues, stems from information gathered in connexion with a study of 'economic planning in Norway'. This study was made by the Institute for Social Research, the interviewing having been done by Fakta, an institute for market research and public opinion. The material has been made available through the courtesy of the Institute for Social Research.

The Gallup material, as well as that from the ISR study, is, where not otherwise specified, based on representative samples of the total Norwegian population, with the exception of the northern-most county of Finmark. The number of persons interviewed for the Gallup questions was about 2,300 and for the ISR questions about 2,700. The Gallup questions were based on ordinary quota samples. The ISR study was based on a cluster-sample.[1]

Nearly all the questions asked by Gallup since 1946 have been studied in relation to the present report. Some of these were found to have little relevance for the Unesco study and have not been reported on. Where great similarity in the questions has been found, only the latest ones have been included, both because of their higher actuality and because the procedures

1. Th. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*.

employed for the questions in 1946 and 1947 were not at that time fully developed.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

VOTING

Voting Similarity in Marriage: 88.9 per cent of All Voting Married People Voted the Same as Their Spouse

In 1947 Gallup asked: 'Do you vote for the same party as your spouse?' Eighty per cent of the 87 per cent who gave clear answers said they did vote for the same party as their spouse; 8 per cent said they usually voted the same way but not always. There was no difference worth mentioning between the sexes on this point.

The percentage of voting similarity did, however, vary considerably from one political party to another, as appears in Table 1.

The most socio-economically heterogeneous parties had the highest difference in political sympathies within marriage.

TABLE 1. Voting similarity between spouses within different political parties

Party for which respondent votes	Compared with spouse respondent votes:		
	usually the same way	the same way	never the same way
	%	%	%
Communist	96	2	2
Agrarian	90	8	2
Labour	86	5	9
Conservative	79	7	14
Christian People	75	15	10
Liberal	71	13	16

The reason why the voting similarity is lowest among members of the 'bourgeois' parties may be in part the higher socio-economic heterogeneity of these parties as compared with the others, and in part a function of their more liberal or individualistic and more diffuse ideologies.

The fact that the Communist Party shows the highest voting similarity between spouses is probably not only owing to its socio-economic homogeneity, but is probably also a function of its sectarian character and its extremely doctrinarian ideology.

The much higher voting similarity for the Agrarian Party than for either of the other parties in the opposition can probably be explained not only by

its higher socio-economic homogeneity, but also by the fact that it is recruited from what is probably the most conservative and patriarchal section of the population, where political differences between spouses would not be expected with any high frequency.

Party Sympathies: Basic Agreement, but Women more Conservative

The ISR study gave material on the distribution of each sex over the various parties and also within each of a series of different groups within the population.

TABLE 2. Distribution of women and men voters between the political parties at the parliamentary elections in 1945 and 1949

	1945		1949	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%
Labour	44	54	47	52
Agrarian	10	10	10	11.5
Conservative	24	12	18	11.5
Communist	3	7	3	6
Christian People	6	3	8	3
Liberal	13	14	14	16
Total percentage	100	100	100	100
Total abstentions	645	913	721	981
Common bourgeois list / Others	—	—	1	1
Don't know	2	1	8	5
Refusals	18	15	21	19
No answer	25	19	9	7
Total percentage	100	100	100	100
Total abstentions	1 180	1 420	1 180	1 420

Women's votes somewhat more fluctuating. We see from Table 2 that the male distribution was about the same for both years, while that of the women shows a decrease in the percentage voting Conservative and an increase in the percentage voting Christian People's and Labour.[1]

The parties had a very similar range within each sex with respect to the number of percentage votes. Labour had the highest percentage of votes

1. The Christian People's Party presented lists in many more election districts in 1949 than in 1945. Several respondents who voted Communist in 1945 probably changed to Labour in 1949 and said they also voted Labour in 1945.

from both sexes, the Conservatives had the next highest percentage among the women while the Liberals had the next highest among the men. The Agrarian Party came fourth with both sexes. While the Communists had the least percentage of women, the Christian People's had the least percentage of the men.

The Christian People's and the Conservative parties had more women than men adherents. Table 3 shows the proportions of men and women among the voters for each party.

TABLE 3. Proportion of male and female voters within each political party

	1949		1945	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%
Labour	38	62	40	60
Agrarian	42	58	38	62
Conservative	53	44	53	47
Communist	27	73	24	76
Christian Peoples	56	44	65	35
Liberal	42	58	40	60

The Communist Party had the least percentage of female votes (about 25 per cent). Labour, the Agrarian Party and the Liberal Party have the next to least percentage (all around 40 per cent). The Conservative Party did, on the other hand, have a slight majority of female votes, while the Christian People's Party has a majority of two-thirds women voters.

Variations in occupational position made for no change in the parties' relative attraction for men and women with the exception that the Conservative's female attraction was concentrated among the functionaries and independents, and the Liberals' greater male attraction was limited to the functionaries.

Variations in income did not change the parties' relative attraction for men and women, with a few minor exceptions. Labour's attraction was the same for both sexes in the next-lowest income group. For the Liberals the attraction was the same in the lowest group.

The difference between the sexes voting Conservative and Liberal disappeared in the lowest educational groups. In the highest educational group a far higher percentage of women than men voted liberal.

Otherwise variation in education did not show any deviation from the trend for the population at large.

Among those under the age of 40 there was an equal percentage of both sexes voting Labour.

Among those below the age of 24 and between the ages of 40 and 60 there was no inter-sex difference in the Agrarian vote.

The Liberal Party had an equal attraction for people of both sexes between 25 and 35 years of age.

Otherwise age made for no deviation from the national trend.

With the exception that the Liberal Party attracted an equal percentage of men and women in the cities, rural-urban residence made for no deviation from the trend in the population at large.

Voting, Non-voting

We are in no need of opinion-poll data in order to ascertain the difference between the voting percentage of the sexes for the country as a whole. If, however, we want to see whether or not there is any variation in this difference from one population group to another, we do need these polling data.

The analysis to follow is based on the answers to two questions in the ISR study of 1949, namely the question asked of 1,900 respondents just before the elections of that year as to whether they intended to vote, and the question asked of 650 respondents immediately after the elections as to whether they had voted or not.

The higher non-voting proportion of women than of men is concentrated in the lowest age, education, income and occupational status groups. As for age, education and income-groups, we found that the greater non-voting percentage among the women occurred among those below 40 years of age, among those with grade-school education only, and among those with an income below 4,000 crowns a year—that is, in those very groups where political information and other political activity[1] were lowest and where the women were most different from the men in these respects.

Among people of 40 years or more, among those with more than twelve years' education and among those with more than 4,000 crowns income, there was about the same percentage of non-voters within each sex. Among people with more than 12 years' education there was an even greater percentage of women than of men who did vote or who intended to vote.

In spite of the fact that increasing age, education and income did not bring the women's level of socio-political information any closer to that of the men, an increase in these factors seems to bring the women's voting percentage up to the level of the men.

That these factors seem to have more effect on voting than on the information level is probably owing to the fact that it requires little to vote, beyond the mere time necessary, to go to the ballot-box, and also perhaps the urge of a husband or a friend; while to keep politically informed requires much more time and much more individual initiative.

As mentioned elsewhere, there is probably a rather high inter-dependence between kind of occupation and income, even as these are divided into

1. See p. 203.

classes in the ISR study. It is therefore not surprising to find that there is also no difference between the voting percentage of the sexes among the independents. Among the functionaries 5 per cent more of the men than of the women voted or intended to vote, while among the workers the difference was 10 per cent.

Women workers have the highest non-voting percentage. Comparing the women alone, we find that those working at home have a voting percentage equally as low as that among the pensioned, higher than that of the workers (10 per cent), but lower than that of the functionaries and the independents (about 5 per cent).

'Urban' residence correlates higher with voting among women than among men. Comparing the rural and the urban districts we find that the difference between the non-voting percentage of the sexes is much higher in the rural areas (10 per cent) than in the cities (3 per cent). For both sexes the non-voting percentage is higher in the rural areas than in the cities. The difference is, however, larger among the women (10 per cent) than among the men (4 per cent) in the rural and the urban districts.

Comparing the regions of the country we find that the difference in non-voting is least in the east (4 per cent), and 9 per cent in the north, the west and the south. For both sexes the non-voting percentage is least in the east.

Reasons for Non-voting: Women Refer More Often to Personal Qualities than the Men

Both the Gallup and the ISR material contains data as to why people do not vote. In answer to a Gallup question as to reasons for the respondent not voting the women more often mentioned illness (12 per cent vs. 3 per cent) and lack of interest (15 per cent vs. 6 per cent)—while the men more often mentioned dissatisfaction with all the existing parties (11 per cent vs. 6 per cent). Lack of time and absence from home were mentioned by an almost equal percentage of both sexes (both about 8 per cent). A much larger percentage of the men than of the women (25 per cent vs. 17 per cent) did not vote because they did not have the right to vote. (Among these would be many former members of the Nazi Party, etc.)

The ISR material corresponds with these findings with the exception of the reasons 'dissatisfaction with all parties' and 'lack of time'. The former was mentioned by an equal percentage of both sexes. The latter was mentioned by 9 per cent of the women versus 3 per cent of the men. The ISR study had an additional category—'don't know which party to vote for'. This was mentioned by 15 per cent of the non-voting women versus 6 per cent of the non-voting men.

There thus seems to be a tendency for women more often than men[1] to see the reasons for not voting but in their own qualities such as lack of interest or lack of knowledge and not in conditions exterior to themselves.

Time of Decision to Vote: Women Decide to Vote Somewhat Closer to Election Day than do the Men

In 1950 Gallup asked those in their sample who had voted in the 1949 elections when they decided to vote. This question may illuminate the hypothesis that women's votes are more unstable than men's.

The answers give some support to this hypothesis since 8 per cent more of the men said they had always been decided on voting. Nevertheless 81 per cent of the women who vote had always intended to vote. Ten per cent of the women versus 5 per cent of the men voters had decided several months prior to the elections and 3 per cent more of the women had decided during the last weeks or later.

The answers to a similar question in the ISR study asked of about 700 voters immediately after the election give similar results. The data from both studies indicate that at least 5 per cent more men than women were decided on voting nine months prior to the election or earlier, while a small percentage more women than men made up their minds only during the last few weeks before election day. In the six months or so prior to the last month before election it seems, however, that there was an equal percentage of men and women who made up their minds.

The data dealt with here do not, of course, say anything about the relative indecision of the sexes with respect to *which party* to vote for. They merely refer to the relative indecision with respect to voting or not voting. Our material does not contain any questions as to when the decision about which party to vote for was taken, but this decision would probably coincide in most cases with the decision to vote at all.

The women's vote is somewhat less stable. The ISR material contains two other questions having relevance to the issue of party constancy, namely whether the respondent was supporting any definite or special party, and whether the respondent voted for the same party in 1945 as in 1949. The answers to these questions also indicate a somewhat higher tendency for the women, than for the men, to change party: 7 per cent less women than men said they were supporters of a definite party, and 5 per cent less women said they voted for the same party in 1945 as in 1949.[2]

The less stable women's vote was concentrated among those below 40 years. This change of party has also been analysed within various sub-groups. We

1. The figures are too low to allow an analysis with respect to demographic sub-groups.
2. It should here again be borne in mind that the Christian People's Party, which especially attracted the women, has lists in many more districts in 1949 than in 1945.

found that there was a tendency for the women below 40 years of age to change party more often than the men in this group, and more often than the women above 40. Neither degree of education nor income seems to be correlated with change of party for either sex, with the exception that among the men there were 6 per cent more who changed party in the income groups below 4,000 crowns a year than in the groups above 4,000.

The urban/rural factor was correlated in the same way for both sexes. Of both sexes there were 6 per cent more respondents who have changed party in the rural areas than in the cities. As for the other districts, the percentage who changed party was the same from one district to another among the women, while among the men the percentage was least in the east and largest in the north.[1]

POLITICAL ACTIVITY APART FROM VOTING

The data presented in this section are entirely from the ISR material, but the questions concerned were put to these 644 women and 778 men in the sample interviewed in the period from the sixth to the ninth week of interviewing, that is during the two weeks before and the two weeks after the 1949 elections. This reduction in the basis of the percentages to be discussed increases the margin of error to some extent, but the material should nevertheless be of some value.[2]

Presence at election meetings. Thirty-three per cent of the men versus 14 per cent of the women had been to an election meeting.

Party work. Seven per cent of the men versus 2 per cent of the women had taken part in some kind of election work for a political party.

Respondent convincing others, others convincing respondent. Nineteen per cent of the men versus 7 per cent of the women had tried to convince other people about which party to vote for; 21 per cent of the men versus 14 per cent of the women said that other people had tried to convince them to vote for a certain party.

Women more often influenced by others and influence others less often than the men. It seems typical of the situation that there was less difference between the sexes with respect to the passive role of being influenced than with respect to the more active role of influencing others. While the percentage among the men was the same in both instances, the percentage among the women was twice as large in the former as in the latter instance.

1. The figures are too small to allow for any occupational analysis.
2. The percentages to follow are based on those giving clear answers.

Those who said they had tried to influence the voting of others were asked whether these others were family members or relatives, neighbours or people at place of work. The men most often mentioned people at their place of work and neighbours (about 29 per cent), while the women most often mentioned neighbours and relatives (both groups about 30 per cent). Only 19 per cent of the women mentioned people at their place of work as objects of their attempts at influencing the voting of others. Twenty-three per cent of the men mentioned relatives. While of the 'influencing' respondents an equal percentage of both sexes influenced their neighbours, the men influenced the people at their job and the women their relatives to the same extent as their neighbours.

Even within the family the men more often discussed the elections. The respondents were also asked specifically whether they discussed the elections with their family and with people outside the family.

Even to the first of these questions, a higher percentage of men (49 per cent) than of the women (39 per cent) answered yes. And when the question concerned discussion with people outside the family, the difference became considerably higher, since 66 per cent of the men versus 31 per cent of the women said they discussed the elections outside the family. We see that a larger percentage of the men discussed the elections outside the family than inside, while the opposite held true for the women.

Fewer women than men members of associations discuss economic policy. All of the 2,500 respondents in the ISR study were also asked whether they were members of any organization or association in which the economic policy of the country had been discussed within the preceding year. To this question 17 per cent of the men versus 7 per cent of the women answered yes.

Conclusion about election contacts. Generally we found that a far lower percentage of the women than of the men said they had had the various forms of contacts regarding the elections discussed in this section.

The radio was the election contact mentioned by the highest percentage of both sexes. While the newspapers and discussion within the family are mentioned by the next to highest percentage of women, these contacts ranged number three and five among the men—brochures being mentioned by a percentage equal to that mentioning discussion in the family. Among the men discussion outside the family had the next to highest percentage. Presence at election meetings, films, etc. ranked lowest among the contacts for both sexes, the former ranging higher among the men, the latter among the women.

Sub-group analysis of inter-sex differences in contacts about elections. The women's lesser election contacts were concentrated in the lowest income,

TABLE 4. Range and percentage of various kinds of election and other political contacts held by men and women

Kinds of election contacts, etc.	Women		Men		% Difference
	Per cent	Range	Per cent	Range	
Radio	72	1	88	1	— 16
Newspapers	42	2	35	5	+ 7
Brochures	33	4	49	3.5	— 16
Discussions outside family	31	5	66	2	— 35
Discussions within family	39	3	49	3.5	— 10
Election meetings	14	7	33	6	— 19
Films, house agitators, periodicals	25	6	16	7	+ 9
Membership in associations discussing economic policy	7	8	17	8	— 10

occupational and educational groups, as well as among the youngest and oldest.

Within most of the sub-groups a higher percentage of men than of women showed contacts concerning the elections.

The highest number of exceptions was found concerning discussions within the family. The women with more than 12 years' education, those with an income above 12,000 crowns and those between 25 and 40 years of age had a somewhat higher percentage discussing elections within the family than did the men in these groups. (The percentage differences were 14, 30 and 10 respectively.)

Among the independents, those with 8 to 12 years' education, those with an income from 7,000 to 12,000 crowns, those between 40 and 60 years of age and those living in the cities, about 50 per cent of both sexes said they discussed the election in the family.

The difference between the sexes was the largest on this point among the workers (28 per cent), in the lowest income-groups (19 per cent), and in the lowest and highest age-groups (about 25 per cent).

We also found a few deviations from the tendency in the total sample with respect to discussion of the elections outside the family.

We found a higher percentage of women than of men discussing the elections among respondents with more than 12 years' education, and with more than 12,000 crowns income (14 per cent in both groups). Within all the other groups the men remained with from 42 per cent to 21 per cent discussing the elections outside the family. In this respect the greatest percentage of difference between the sexes was found in the lowest education group (40 per cent), in the rural areas (41 per cent), in the oldest and next to youngest age-groups (about 41 per cent in both), and in the north (38 per

cent). In all income groups except the highest, among the workers, in the youngest age group in the cities and in the south and west, the men's percentages were also decidedly higher than those of the women (about 35 per cent).

There were few exceptions within the sub-groups from the general rule that the men had a higher percentage of members in associations discussing economic policy and of respondents trying to influence others. Where the men's percentage was not higher it was merely equal to that of the women. As for the influencing of others, we found an equal percentage among the independents and among those with more than 12,000 crowns yearly income. An equal percentage of memberships in associations discussing economic policy were found among people with more than 12 years' education.

In the other sub-groups there was usually about 10 per cent more men than women saying they had tried to influence the voting of others, with the exceptions of the highest age and education groups, in which there were 17 per cent more men who had tried to influence others.

In most sub-groups the inter-sex difference as regards membership in associations discussing economic policy—varied from about 8 per cent for the women to about 12 per cent for the men. The difference was, however, still higher in the highest income-group (15), among the functionaries, in the cities and in the east (about 18 per cent).

(The other types of election contacts listed in Table 4 have not been analysed with respect to sub-group variations.)

We also found that altogether it was in the highest income and educational groups that the women showed a greater election contact, etc., than the men. This is especially true of discussion of elections in and out of the family. In the age group from 35 to 40 years there were also 10 per cent more women than men discussing the elections in the family. Increasing income and education seem to have a relatively more stimulating effect on women than on men in these respects. The same holds true of increasing income and increasing social status of occupation when it comes to influencing the voting of others. With respect to education such increase also seems more stimulating to women than to men when it comes to membership in associations discussing economic policy, but difference between the sexes was greater on this membership point among the functionaries than among the independents. It also seems difficult to understand why a higher percentage of women in the age group 25-40 discussed the elections in the family. A contributing factor may have been that in these years women are most tied to their homes, so that their political interest becomes concentrated within the family to a higher degree than that of the men.

The urban-rural factor revealed trends away from the main tendency in the population as a whole only with regard to discussion of the elections within the family, insofar as there was no difference in this respect among the sexes in the cities.

When the difference between the sexes was greater in the cities than in the

rural areas with respect to membership in associations discussing economic policy this is connected with the fact that there is a much lower percentage of men with such membership in the rural areas, which is again probably a function of the difference between the standing of the trade unions in the cities and in the rural areas.

OPINIONS ABOUT THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

WOMEN IN POLITICAL LIFE

Impact of Possible Increase in Women's Political Activity on the Governing of the Country: Women more in Favour of Women being more Politically Active. More than One-fourth of the Men are in Favour

The respondents in a Gallup sample of 1946 were asked whether they thought Norway would be governed better, worse, or as well as at present, if women took a more active part in politics.

Of those with an opinion, twice as large a number of women as of men thought that the government of the country would improve (62 per cent vs. 30 per cent), while twice as large a percentage of men as of women thought the country would be worse off. But the respondents thinking things would become worse were in a decided minority within both sexes (21 per cent of the men, 9 per cent of the women). Half of the men versus less than one-third of the women thought things would run equally well with as without more political activity on part of the women. Even on this question 5 per cent more women than men had no opinion (20 per cent vs. 15 per cent).

High age, low income most in favour of women in politics. This question has been analysed also with respect to age and income groups. The percentage thinking the country would be worse off with more politically active women was about the same in all age and income groups (about 13 per cent of all respondents). There was, however, an increase of respondents thinking the governing would improve with increasing age and with decreasing income.

The men stressed intelligence, women stressed special insight, peacefulness and the equality principle as reasons for more women in politics. The respondents thinking that the quality of the governing of the country would improve were asked to give their reason for so thinking.

The women gave as reasons (%):

Women better insight into such questions as housing, health, etc.	58
Women must be equal with men	21
Women don't want war	8
The men have failed since there is much they don't know	2
Better for the women	1
Other reasons	12

The men gave as reasons (%):

Women as intelligent as men	43
Women more practical and more interested in various questions	23
Women must be equal with men	6
Women more peace-loving	3
The men have failed	2
Other reasons	23

While the men tend to see the issue as one of intelligence, and not so much as one of skill and knowledge, the women stress these latter qualities. More than three times as large a percentage of women as of men mentioned the equality principle as a reason, and almost three times as large a percentage of women referred to what they assume to be the more peace-loving nature of women. A low percentage equal in both sexes give the assumed failure of men in political life as a reason. There was an equally great discrepancy for both sexes between a wish to change social circumstances in order to make women's political as well as occupational participation possible and a wish to limit women's possibilities.

Opinions about Increase and Restriction of Women's Political Opportunity

In 1953 Gallup asked a question for the Unesco study as to whether the respondents were of the opinion that changes in the present social conditions were desirable in order to give women and men more equal opportunities for taking part in political life.

The percentage finding such changes desirable was, however, lower among both sexes than was the percentage thinking that more politically-active women would improve the governing of the country. This difference of opinion was especially large among the women; only 29 per cent of the women versus 25 per cent of the men were in favour of social changes in order to improve the political possibilities of women.

As we shall see below, this low percentage in favour of such reforms in general was in still greater contrast to the very high percentage (about 70 per cent for both sexes), who did not want to mention any area of political life where they thought the opportunities of women should be limited.

We shall also find an exactly parallel contrast when we come to the questions about attitudes to women's place in occupational life. The findings in this latter connexion also show that public opinion is in favour of more inter-sex equality of opportunity in politics than in occupational life.

Let us, however, first have a look at the differentiation between the various sub-groups of the population with respect to their opinion about the desirability of change in order to increase women's political possibilities.

Workers, independents, low incomes, low age, least in favour of social changes to increase women's possibilities. Also on this question there was a slightly higher per cent in favour of change among the older than among the younger respondents (4 per cent), while there was no difference on the question of limitations in women's activity, since a higher per cent of the low income groups than of the high were thinking in 1946 that the country would be better governed with increased political activity on the part of women, one would also expect low income groups to be more in favour of change in order to increase women's political possibilities. This is, however, not the case: 31 per cent of the *high* income groups versus 22 per cent of the *low* were in favour of such changes. On the other hand there were 69 per cent versus 72 per cent saying there are no forms of political activity where restriction on women's activity was desirable. The 'don't know' percentage was 12 on the first and about 20 on the second question in both income groups.

Of the occupational groups the respondents living by their own means or on pensions had the largest percentage in favour of change (33 per cent). Next came the functionaries and those working in their own homes (27 per cent). The workers and the independents showed the least percentage in favour of change (23 and 21 per cent).

Workers and independents showed the greatest contrast between abstract liberalism and desire to change. Among the occupational groups the greatest contrast between desire for change and general, abstract liberalism, in the sense of believing there are no forms of political participation where women should have less opportunities than men, occurs among the two groups least in favour of change. Seventy-five per cent of the independents and 71 per cent of the workers thought there should be no restrictions. The corresponding percentages within the other three occupational groups were about the same (about 70 per cent), the contrast being least among these with their own means and those at home. The 'contrast' is measured by the percentage difference between respondents thinking there should be no restrictions and the percentage in favour of change. This percentage difference is regarded as a contrast in so far as we regard it an inconsistency on the one hand to want no restrictions on the possibilities of women as compared with those of the men—be it in political or, as we shall come to later, occupational life—and on the other hand not to want reforms in the social situations of the kinds suggested in the first part of the reform-question about occupational life (which in the questionnaire preceded the questions about political life), if one assumes that the possibilities open to men and women today are *not* equal and if one regards at least some of the restrictions on equal opportunity to lie in the social conditions suggested (present forms of family life, child-rearing, education, wage-conditions, etc.). Psychologically we would propose to regard this 'contrast' as an instance of unrealistic perception of social reality and as wishful social thinking. There

is of course the possibility that we have chosen an unfortunate phrasing of the questions about reforms and that another phrasing, or—more likely—*more* questions on the same issue, might have given answers of different implication than those suggested by the answers to the questions in their present form. We would think that the 'don't know' percentage would have been higher than the present 12 per cent on both reform questions if the whole explanation had been that our reform question was not understood or that the phrasing sounded too drastic. And we are tempted to add that even if these latter explanations should have some validity, they do not contradict, but do themselves support our interpretation of the 'contrast' as unrealistic social perception and wishful social thinking.

It is possible that people, when talking of equal chances, were merely thinking of the formal aspects of all the factors governing men's and women's chances in occupational and political life. Perhaps they were thinking of laws or agreements within the occupational or political field itself when speaking of equal chances.

Perhaps their frame of reference when speaking of equal chances was one entirely different from that suggested in our first question. And perhaps most of the respondents had already switched to their own usual frame of reference when they were asked whether men or women ought to have equal chances in all occupations or in all fields of political life. Perhaps they answered even the very first 'reform' question not in the frame of reference suggested by the question but in their own formalistic one.

If so we can understand why so many said there should be no limitations on women's possibilities at the same time as so few wanted reforms. Perhaps this formalistic perception of social reality, this perceiving of equal chances as a matter of formal laws and agreements is the particular mechanism making possible that wishful thinking and unrealistic social perception of which we have been talking.

(Among our interviews in the survey recently begun in Oslo, we have had examples where the respondent thinks that if just one or two women hold some position, say a judge's, they will take this as proof of the equality of men's and women's chances with respect to this position.)

On the reform question the 'don't know' percentage is about 5 for the independents and the pensioned, about 12 for workers and functionaries and 20 for those at home. On the restriction-question the 'don't know' percentage is 24 for those at home and about 17 for the other occupational groups.

The urban, industrialized areas were more in favour of change and had the most realistic social perception. Comparing respondents from urban and rural districts we found a much higher percentage of urban than of rural respondents in favour of change (38 per cent vs. 18 per cent), although among the rural respondents a somewhat larger percentage thought there ought to be no limitations on women's political possibilities (67 per cent vs.

73 per cent respectively). The 'don't know' percentages for both groups were about 12 and 20 for the two questions respectively.

As for the geographical regions, we find that the east stands out with a higher percentage in favour of reform than the south-west and the north (32 per cent vs. about 20 per cent respectively). On both questions the 'don't know' percentage is lowest in the east and highest in the north. The 'don't know' percentage was 10 and about 15 respectively. When it comes to the question of limitations, the south-west shows the most abstract liberal attitude with 75 per cent saying no restrictions, the east 70 per cent and the north 66 per cent, the contrast thus being the greatest for the south-west, and the least for the east. (The 'don't know' percentages are 17, 21 and 27 for the east, south-west and north respectively.)

The Conservatives most in favour of change. The questions asked by Gallup for the Unesco study have also been analysed with respect to the distribution within political parties. Surprisingly the Conservatives had by far the greatest percentage in favour of change in order to increase women's political opportunities (42 per cent)—while as we shall see it is equal with Labour and the Liberals on desirability of change for inter-sex occupational equality. Next came the Communist and the Labour parties (about 31 per cent), the Liberals (24 per cent), and the Agrarian Party (16 per cent) and the Christian People's (11 per cent).

The parties showing the greatest contrast between the reform and the restriction question are first of all the Christian People's (80 per cent for no restrictions), the Liberals, the Agrarian and the Communists (81, 73 and 88 per cent for no restrictions). The contrast in the Conservative Party was least, with only 71 per cent in favour of no restrictions, and next to least in the Labour Party with 72 per cent for no restrictions.

The 'don't know' percentages were least among the Communists and the Liberals (4 and 9 per cent), 12 in the Christian People's Party and 17 in the other parties.

Changes Wanted in Order to Increase Women's Political Opportunities. The Changes Wanted Mainly of Formal, Superficial Nature

When those 26 per cent who regarded changes of social conditions as desirable for increasing women's political opportunities, were asked what we ought to do in order to increase women's possibilities, 9 per cent of the entire sample proposed the election of women to parliament and to municipal councils, 2 per cent thought that political associations ought to help women into politics, 4 per cent that better education for the women would be the best means, only 1 per cent proposed to ease the women's burden of work, 5 per cent did not point to any kind of reform of social conditions, but thought that the best means for the women to get more political possibilities

was for the women themselves to take more initiative. Four per cent did not know exactly what changes were needed.

Thus we see that even those wanting changes, those that we have called more 'realistic', have a very insufficient perception of the measures needed if change is to come about. But these people are at least conscious that some kind of change is necessary.

Restrictions Wanted on Women's Political Opportunities

The restrictions on women's possibilities refer to top political positions. Only 9 per cent of the total sample mentioned areas of political life where they thought the opportunities for women ought to be limited. The most frequently mentioned area was 'top political positions' (6 per cent of the total sample), of these 2 per cent referred specifically to the position of prime minister and 1 per cent to ministers in the government; 1 per cent also mentioned representatives to parliament.

As for the limitations on women's political opportunities (as well as those on occupational opportunities to be dealt with in the next section), and the kinds of reforms suggested in both connexions, it should be remembered that the percentages represent only those who spontaneously mentioned a reform or a limitation. It is impossible on this basis to say how great a part of the population would be for or against any specific reform or limitation. Had the respondents been presented with a list of specified reforms and limitations, there might, for instance, have been a much greater percentage saying that women ought not to have the opportunity to become prime minister.

We shall see an example of this in the next section, where a much larger per cent were against women clergymen when asked specifically about this issue, than mentioned the clergy as an area of limitation on women's possibilities in the general answer.

WOMEN IN PARA-POLITICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL LIFE

Impact of Possible Increase of Number of Women in Key Public Positions on the Government of the Country. Women more in Favour of Seeing Members of their Sex in Key Public Positions

In 1952 Gallup asked the following question: 'Do you think that the country would be governed better or worse if there were more women in important public positions?'

Just as in 1946 when the question was about the impact of women being more politically active, twice as large a percentage of the women as of the men thought the governing would be better with more women in important public positions (54 per cent vs. 27 per cent). Again the persons thinking

governing would become worse are in a decided minority within both sexes, four times as large a percentage of the men as of the women (27 per cent vs. 7 per cent). As many as 37 and 42 per cent of women and men, respectively, had no opinion on this issue. Rural, low income, independent and socialist groups were least in favour of women in key public positions.

On this question there was no difference between the respondents above and below 40 years of age. Those with higher income and those living in the cities and towns were more optimistic with respect to the outcome of more women in important public positions, while the low-income group and the rural respondents had an equally higher 'don't know' percentage (10 per cent). Of the geographical regions, the east was the most optimistic, then the north and least the south-west (44, 39 and 36 per cent respectively thought matters would improve, the 'don't know' percentage and the percentage saying it would make no difference being the same in all three regions, 17 and 2 respectively).

Of the occupational groups those at home and the pensioned had the highest per cent thinking the governing would improve (55 and 44 per cent). Next came the functionaries with 39 per cent, workers with 32 per cent and the independents with 27 per cent. The 'don't know' percentage was 45 for the last two groups and about 37 for the other three.

Of the political parties, the Conservatives and the Christian People's were most in favour of women in public positions (49 and 45 per cent). Least in favour were the Communists and Labour Party (43 and 40 per cent for and 37 and 18 per cent against more women in public positions). Excluding the 'don't know' percentages, which were very high (45 per cent) in the Liberal and the Agrarian parties, these parties were in line with the Conservative and the Christian People's. (The percentage saying the issue is of no influence one way or the other varied between 5 and 1 per cent.)

Lack of competence is the main quality held against and greater competence the quality held for women in public positions. All the respondents with an opinion were asked for their reason for holding that opinion. The reasons most often mentioned for thinking that the governing of the country would become worse if more women came into important public positions, was that the men had geater competence (20 per cent), that they had not seen the women do it better (10 per cent), that the women were not as well informed (19 per cent)—an opinion which according to the data in our first chapter, seems to be quite realistic: 18 per cent thought that women were less stable than are men; 5 per cent that men were more independent and 3 per cent that women don't have the same authority; 3 per cent said there were enough women in public positions already and 13 per cent simply said that a woman's place is in the home.

Thus we see that about half the objections against more women in public positions referred to a doubt about the competence of women in general.

Close to one fourth of the objections referred to assumptions about feminine personality traits.

Those who were in favour of more women in public positions also concentrated on reasons of competence, referring to their special competence in 'many things' (30 per cent), in issues concerning house and home (16 per cent), and more interest in social conditions (15 per cent). Ten per cent said women were generally more practical and intelligent, 6 per cent that women assert themselves just as well as the men.

Four per cent thought it would be unfortunate if only men held public positions, that men and women should also supplement each other in this field. Another 4 per cent referred to an assumption about a better emotional development in women, and 3 per cent thought that women had a stronger will for peace. Two per cent referred to men's failure. Only 3 per cent referred to the principle of equality and only 2 per cent gave the reason that women ought to get a chance to show what they can do.

By and large the same reasons were given in favour of more women in public life as were given in favour of women becoming more politically active.

Married Women in Occupations Outside the Home. Basic Agreement that Married Women should Stay at Home, but more Women in Favour of their Working Outside the Home

In 1951 Gallup asked: 'Do you think that married women ought to try to get work outside their home, or do you think they ought to concentrate on the work in their home?'

Twenty-four per cent of the women versus 13 per cent of the men in the entire sample were of the opinion that married women ought to try to get work outside of their home. An equal percentage of both sexes were of the opinion that they ought to concentrate on their work at home (67 per cent).

High incomes, functionaries and urban areas most in favour of married women having work outside their home. There was no difference worth mentioning between the young and the old respondents, while 23 per cent of the high income group versus 16 per cent of the low thought that married women ought to take work outside their home, 67 per cent of both groups thinking they ought to stay at home. Part of the reason for this difference may lie in the higher burden of work on the low-income wives.

Of the occupational groups the functionaries were most in favour of women getting work outside their home (27 per cent vs. 17 per cent among the workers and the independents).

Twenty-two per cent of the urban versus 16 per cent of the rural respondents wanted the wives to get work outside of their home, and 67 per cent of both groups thought the wives ought to stay at home. On this question we find to our surprise that the south-west was more radical than the east

and the north, 22 versus 17 per cent being in favour of wives taking work outside their home.

Economic necessity main reason for thinking married women should work outside their home. The reasons given in support of the view that the wives should not take work outside their home were quite different from the reasons given as to why more women should not be in public positions. The only reason mentioned in both connexions was that the women have enough to do at home. While it was mentioned by 13 per cent in connexion with the former question, it was mentioned by 90 per cent of those in favour of the wives staying at home; 26 per cent within these 90 per cent are more specifically of the categoric opinion that a woman's place is in the home; 10 per cent said they ought to stay at home in so far as they do not have to take outside work for economic reasons.

The reasons given in favour of wives taking work outside their home do not coincide at all with those in favour of more women in public positions. Above all, the possibility of economic necessity was given as a reason for married women not taking work outside their home (53 per cent). Five per cent referred to the benefit to the nation's economy; 8 per cent referred to the positive significance such work would have for the married women themselves, how it would give them an opportunity to use their talents and widen their horizon; 28 per cent said it was all right on the condition that their children did not suffer by their taking work outside the home.

Opinions about Increase and Restrictions of Occupational Possibilities of Women

Majority of both sexes against social changes in order to increase women's possibilities of choosing occupation—men most against. In answer to a question for the Unesco study as to whether the respondent found it desirable that we should try to change any social conditions in order that women and men should have more equal opportunities for choosing occupation and position, we found that a decisive majority in the sample was against changes, the percentage being almost exactly the same as that against changes for the sake of women's political possibilities (63 per cent).

Again the percentage wanting changes was about the same among the women as among the men (23 per cent). As the 'don't know' percentage is higher among the women than among the men (17 per cent vs. 9 per cent), there was a greater percentage of men than women who were against social changes in this connexion (68 per cent vs. 59 per cent). The percentage that thought there should be no limitations on the occupational possibilities of the women was, however, the same for both sexes (about 48 per cent)—which is more than 20 per cent lower than the percentage thinking there should be no restrictions on the political opportunities. While the men showed a greater contrast between their opinion about restrictions and on

that about social changes concerning the political possibilities, there was only negligible difference in the same direction (3 per cent) concerning the occupational possibilities. The 'don't know' percentages on the reform question were 17 and 9, on the restriction question 14 and 8 per cent, for women and men respectively.

High incomes, functionaries, urban areas and the Communists most in favour of social change. There is no mentionable difference between the older and the younger respondents on these points. But again the high income group was more in favour of reform than the low income group (30 per cent vs. 18 per cent), the 'don't know' percentage being 10 and 16 respectively. There was, however, a much higher percentage of the low income group than of the high which thought that there should be no occupational restrictions (54 per cent vs. 42 per cent). Thus the contrast between the reform and the restriction opinion was much greater for the low than for the high income groups.

Of the occupational groups only the functionaries and those at home were more in favour of reform than the others (31 per cent and 25 per cent). The other three occupational groups had about 20 per cent in favour of reforms. The 'don't know' percentage varies from 8 among the independent to 16 among those at home. When it comes to the question of whether there ought to be limitations on the occupational possibilities of women, the independents and the pensioned have the greatest percentage saying no limitations (55 and 49 per cent), while the percentage for the other groups is about 46. The 'don't know' percentage varies from 6 among the functionaries and independents to about 14 among the pensioned and those at home. Thus we find the greatest contrast between reform and restriction opinions among the former two occupational groups, the least among the functionaries and next to the least among those at home. (We recall that concerning political opportunities the highest contrast was found among the independents and the workers, those at home and the pensioned showing the least.) The 'don't know' percentage varies from 8 among the independents to 16 among those at home.

With respect to the urban/rural factor the relations were parallel to those concerning the political opportunities. The towns and cities showed 32 per cent in favour of reform versus 18 per cent of the rural respondents, while 53 per cent of the latter versus only 40 per cent of the former thought there should be no limitations on women's opportunities. The 'don't know' percentage on both questions was 9 for the urban and about 8 for the rural respondents.

As for the geographical regions, the east showed 30 per cent, the north 21 per cent and the southwest 12 per cent in favour of changes, while they showed 44, 51 and 55 per cent respectively, thinking there should be no limitations. Thus the southwest shows the greatest and the east the least contrast between the two opinions. (We recall that for the corresponding

opinions on women's political opportunities we found exactly parallel results, except that the southwest had the highest and the north the lowest percentage thinking there should be no restrictions on political opportunities.) The 'don't know' percentages are about 9, 14 and 18 for the east, southwest and the north, respectively, on both questions.

Finally, for the political parties we find a far greater percentage of the Communists than of any other party in favour of reforms (66 per cent; the Labour Party, the Conservatives and the Liberals in between (about 25 per cent); and the Agrarian and the Christian People's having the least percentage in favour of reforms (14 and 11 per cent). When it comes to opinions as to whether restrictions are desirable on women's occupational opportunities, the Liberals and Labour Party were most in favour of no restrictions (54 and 50 per cent), the Communists least (36 per cent) and the other parties in an intermediate position with about 43 per cent in favour of no restrictions. Thus the contrast becomes the least for the Conservatives, next to the least for the Labour Party about the same for the others.

As for the reform question, the results were parallel on the question of political opportunities, except that the Conservatives were more 'radical' than the Communists on this latter question. On the question about limitations on the political opportunities of women we found that the Communists and the Christian People's were among the most liberal, while on the contrast-point the positions of the parties were similar to that found with respect to political opportunities of women.

Changes Wanted in order to Increase Women's Occupational Opportunities. Main Change Wanted is the Introduction of Equal Pay for Both Sexes

We found that the reform most frequently mentioned in all the sub-groups of the sample concerning women's opportunities in occupational life was of an economic nature, namely equal pay for equal work (7 per cent of the whole sample). Next came better education for women and a reform of the opinion-climate, namely of doing away with prejudices (both mentioned by 3 per cent). Practical measures to ease the work of the housewives were mentioned by 2 per cent. Only 1 per cent mentioned reforms on the political level, namely that the women must take part in the parliament and in the government of the country. Of the total sample six per cent were in favour of change, but did not know how.

Restrictions Wanted on Women's Occupational Opportunities

Heavy work, church and military life were considered to be the main areas of restricted opportunities. Forty-one per cent of the sample were of the opinion that there were occupations or positions for which women ought not to have equal opportunity. Seventeen per cent of the total sample mentioned heavy work, mining, forestry and milk-transport. Twelve per cent were of

the opinion that women should not have the possibility of becoming clergymen. Military positions were mentioned by 5 per cent and positions at sea and in the police were each mentioned by 3 per cent. Representatives to the parliament and taxi drivers were both mentioned by 1 per cent.

As for the position of clergymen, Gallup explicitly asked in 1946 for an opinion as to whether women ought to have the opportunity to enter the clergy. When this question was brought to the respondents' attention, 44 per cent of the population thought that women should not have the opportunity, 47 per cent thought they should and 9 per cent had no opinion.

The main argument against the idea of women clergy was irrational, simply that it does not look well (83 per cent of those against women clergy). Seven per cent referred to the *Bible* and 4 per cent cited the principle that a woman's place is in the home. Of the adherents of women clergy, 15 per cent referred to the equality principle; 9 per cent thought that women were just as fit as men to preach God's words. Women were least in favour of female clergy.

We found, however, that women were much more traditional in their opinion on this point than men, 54 per cent of the men versus 39 per cent of the women were in favour of women clergy (the 'don't know' percentage is the same for both sexes). While there was an equal proportion of adherents and of opponents among the older age groups, there was a majority of adherents among the young. The high income group had a decided majority in favour of women clergy, while the lower income groups were equally divided. In the south, one-third were in favour, in the west, the opponents were slightly in the majority, and in the other geographical regions the majority was in favour of the opportunity of women to enter the clergy. Of the political parties, the Communist, Labour and Agrarian parties were mainly in favour, the Conservatives divided evenly on the issue, and in the other two parties the opponents were in the majority.

Occupational Preferences for Boys and Girls

More men than women prefer to see their daughters as housewives, while university education and work with children rank highest with women.

In 1950 Gallup asked the respondents which occupations they would prefer their son and which they would prefer their daughter to have.

We found that the preferences for both boys and girls had the same range according to percentage, mentioning each occupation within each sex, with one exception, namely 'housewife, married'. While this occupation was mentioned by the highest number of men as the preferred occupation for their daughter (22 per cent), it was only the third most frequently mentioned occupation among the women (14 per cent), university education and (child) nursing being mentioned by the highest and next to highest percentages of the women—these occupations being mentioned only by 13 per cent and 9 per cent of the men. For the daughters both sexes then mentioned trade

and office-work (8 per cent) and handicraft (7 and 3 per cent of women and men respectively). Then came agriculture, housework and music with from 2 to 1 per cent of each sex.

While only 5 per cent or both sexes said they would prefer their daughters to choose their own occupation, 7 per cent of both sexes said they would prefer their sons to make their own choice. (Most of these answers were given by people having children.)

While the men had the highest 'don't know' percentage when the question concerned daughters (33 per cent vs. 26 per cent), the sexes had an equal 'don't know' percentage when the question was about sons (28 per cent).

Higher education was more often wanted for the sons than for the daughters by both sexes. For both sexes university and higher education also ranged the highest for the sons, but were mentioned by a still higher percentage (28 per cent of the women versus 24 per cent of the men). For sons the crafts and skilled work were mentioned by a higher percentage (about 17) than trade and office-work (about 4 per cent). Also agriculture (about 9 per cent). Transport was mentioned by 4 per cent of the women and 5 per cent of the men. Artist, author, etc., was mentioned by 1 per cent, as was work in municipal and state administration.

Functionaries and higher income groups were most in favour of higher education for their children. High and low income groups were equal with respect to preferred occupation for the daughters, while for the sons 30 per cent of the high income-group versus 23 per cent of the low, preferred university or higher education. The low also mentioned skilled trades and agriculture somewhat more often, but the range of preferences was the same in both income-groups.

The only difference between rural and urban districts concerned the sons, so that a higher per cent of the rural agricultural group (17 per cent vs. 1 per cent), and a higher percentage of the urban group preferred the skilled trades (22 per cent vs. 13 per cent).

Thirty-five of the functionaries wanted a higher education for their sons, and a higher percentage also had such wishes for their daughters. Twenty-four per cent of both the workers and the independents had such wishes for their sons, while the independents more often than the other occupational groups wanted their daughters to marry. The workers most often wanted to see their daughters in trade and office work or in handicraft, like sewing or hairdressing. Twenty-two per cent of the workers versus 10 per cent of the functionaries and 14 per cent of the independents wanted their sons to become craftsmen or skilled workers.

It seems that the functionaries are by and large more ambitious for their children than either workers or independents.

Equal Wages for Men and Women. Basic Agreement on the Desirability of Equality of Pay for the Sexes

In 1947 Gallup asked a question as to whether the respondents were of the opinion that men and women should get the same pay for the same work when they were equally competent. Ninety per cent of the women versus 85 per cent of the men were in favour of equal pay. There was no difference worth mentioning between the various sub-groups of the sample, the greatest being that between the South and the Tröndelag (82 per cent vs. 95 per cent).

CONCLUSIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Apart from the great difference between the sexes as regards socio-political information and degree of articulacy, the most striking impression gained from opinion-data seems to be that by and large women and men have very much the same opinion in the various opinion-areas discussed.

The very similar distributions of opinion within each sex shows in most cases a difference in emphasis or concentration of opinion; the differences are rather tendencies than absolute and clear cut divergences. While the majority of both sexes may share the same opinion, the majority may be much—or somewhat—larger within the one sex than within the other.

These differences may often not be so large in each separate instance, but the same kind of small differences seem to appear and reappear from one issue to another. And the differences thus appearing within one area of opinion and of political activity seem to form a more or less coherent whole together with the series of small differences within other areas. Most of the main differences presented should, however, be regarded as possibly plausible hypotheses with some support in our material, and not by any means as tested and verified conclusions.

In addition to these reservations there are the usual limitations to which all opinion-polling is liable.

Some of the hypotheses to be mentioned will have their chief 'inspiration' from sources other than the present material, but it may be of interest also to see indications of support for them in this material.

The women are decidedly less well-informed on socio-political issues, and they are also less articulate on issues of this sort. Whether this lack of articulateness also implies lack of information, and whether it is specific to the interview situation, this relative lack of information and articulateness is not a general phenomenon common to all areas of opinion. In social areas also of concern for women, areas more closely related to the women's social role, and in areas of a more personal nature, the women are equally articulate, or more so than the men.

We also found that women are less politically active, not only in voting, but also in discussing political issues, especially outside the family.

Factors like higher income, higher education, higher social status of occupations, and urban living seem generally to have a stimulating effect on the information as well as on the political activity of both sexes. While these factors seem to be about equally stimulating to the political activities of both the sexes, they seem to be much more stimulating to the information-level of the men than of the women.

We also found slight indications in support of the hypotheses of women's more frequent political indecision, and of their greater modesty in revealing their knowledge and opinions.

With respect to opinions on both the national and the international political scene, a higher percentage of women appeared to be more 'conservative' in their opinions, on the national scene more in 'opposition' to the politics of the socialist government.

This tendency found in the opinion data is in accord with the data on political voting. More women than men vote for the non-socialist parties—they vote especially for the Christian People's Party and for the Conservatives.

Again the higher frequency of positive attitudes to international figures like Churchill and Eisenhower and of less positive attitudes to Stalin and Adlai Stevenson, as well as the unanimous acclaim of the military alliances with the Western powers, and wish for stronger military defense, their more frequent perception of the Soviet Union, and their less frequent perception of U.S.A. as nations threatening world peace, may all be taken as indications of their more 'conservative' attitudes also with regard to the international scene. Such attitudes certainly have a more unanimous support from the Conservatives than from the Labour Party, not to mention the Communists. That the women more often show a belief in various peace-promoting efforts and agencies, is fully in line with this general trend.

Also, the women, more often than the men, being in favour of women's more extended political and occupational participation, are in line with a tendency which is most predominant within the Conservative Party. As we have seen, the women also showed less 'wishful thinking' on the point of women's political opportunities. We have, however, seen one exception to this tendency, when the wish for more women in political and occupational life came into conflict with their more strict morals, i.e. in the instance where a lower percentage of the women were in favour of letting an unmarried woman who bears a child stay in a public position.

(The finding that the Conservatives are the most active in propagating women's political activization is in line with the preliminary inquiries made into the position of women within the political parties.)

One might think there would be a contradiction between being a Conservative and wanting reform in women's political role, since the latter wish seems to be a 'progressive' one. Whatever we mean by 'progressive', it is

of course possible that a wish for women's political activization may turn out to be 'progressive' just as easily as it may turn out to be 'non-progressive'. Conservatives also want changes, changes 'that do not break the continuity from the past'. Whether the one or the other opinion of the Conservatives should be said to be 'progressive' or not, or to be better or worse for women or for mankind as a whole, will always be a value judgment (from which we should by no means refrain).

In so far as the core of the question of women's political role is regarded as that of genuine freedom and responsibility for his life on the part of each individual, the political distinctions between Conservatives, Liberals, Progressives, Socialists, etc., are not important. The important distinction is that the genuine radical is working for social conditions and human character structures that permit each individual's full responsibility for his or her own life.[1] This distinction cuts across all party boundaries.

On the basis of our data it is hard to say whether women as a group are socio-politically more dictatorial and less genuinely radical than the men or the other way around.

Although women as a group are found to be more conservative in the current political sense of the word, this does not prevent the possibility of many of them being more genuinely radical than most of the more liberal or socialistically oriented men.

That women, on basis of available data, seem more conservative, more in favour of strong military defenses, more conventionally religious, more moralistic and less personally happy, indicates that at least very few women are genuinely radical. At the same time, our finding that men have less of these attitudes but are more liberal or socialistic does not prove that the men are really less dictatorial or more genuinely radical. As Reich's analysis shows, the atheist socialist can be just as dictatorial and moralistic as an arch-conservative, and the tolerance of a liberal can be the powerless and weak surface of repressed dictatorial attitudes.

Thus the present study mainly describes the typically female socio-political deviation from the genuinely radical attitudes as compared with the typical male deviation.

The higher frequency of 'conservative' opinions among the women on the socio-political level seems also to be in accord with more religious attitudes of women. Both these tendencies again may be taken to be in accord with, on the one hand, their more frequent answers indicating less personal satisfaction than the men have, and on the other hand also to be in accord with their greater tendency to be in favour of more strict opinions in moral issues.

If we focus attention on the question of why women are less politically active, all the indications found in our opinion-material seem to indicate different *parts* of the explanation. On the one hand their less adequate

1. For a full presentation of these distinctions, see W. Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, New York, Orgone Institute Press, 1946.

information, their conservatism, their seemingly higher modesty, their stricter morals, their more conventional religiousness, may all be qualities that may make political participation more difficult. On the other hand, these attitudes that may hamper socio-political activities probably have their roots in the women's childhood with its more restrictive upbringing, not the least in the sexual sphere. They also are rooted in the occupational and family structure, leaving the mothers alone with children who are reared in an almost exclusively feminine world.

Again these attitudes and this kind of rearing of girls has roots in the social sphere in contemporary expectations toward women and in the fact that public opinion expects women to stay in their isolated social position at home with the children and the house, with their social status and their economic needs provided by their husbands on whom they thus become socially and economically dependent. Consequently their security depends in all ways on the relative stability of things as they are. That they nevertheless want to participate politically need not be in contradiction to these points of view. That is dependent on the ends and goals towards which the participation takes an attitude. Political participation in itself will not necessarily shake the present socio-economic-psychological security and dependence. If the goal is not merely the political activization of women but also socially, economically and psychologically independent women and men in society, changes must take place on all the points in what may appear to be a vicious circle. Where and how to start in the various countries, communities and individuals, must be a question for close analysis of the specific situations and their contexts. For such purposes much more penetrating research on the interaction of psychic, social, economic and cultural factors is needed.

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